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OF CYRUS

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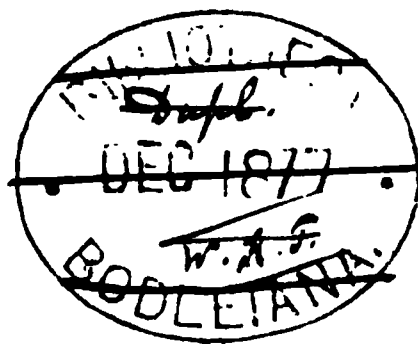
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## GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

‘WORTHY deeds,’ says Milton, ‘are seldom destitute of worthy relators;’ but it is rarely that the power of the sword and the skill of the pen are united in the same man to produce such a narrative as is found in the later books of Xenophon’s *Anabasis*. The deeds are worthy; for there are few more striking pages in the world’s history than that which is filled by the *Retreat of the Ten Thousand*. Entrapped in the very centre of a hostile country, their leaders treacherously slain, without cavalry to protect them from attack, without trusty guides, without maps even to show them their way, through mountain defiles, and over snow-clad heights, they held steadily on in spite of obstacles till they reached their home. Accustomed as we are to the movements of armies along the military roads of Rome and of modern Europe, it is hard to realise the difficulties they had to face in a country whose roads were no more than beaten tracks, which, in a rainy season, would often be like ploughed fields, and where the very possibility of obtaining food must be dependent on the humanity or the fears of a suspicious or hostile population. Such difficulties could only be overcome by a first-rate leader with well-disciplined men. Nowhere is the excellent discipline of the Greeks



more conspicuous. In the march up to Cunaxa they had shown a far from united spirit. Gathered from all quarters to serve as volunteers,—some from poverty, some as political exiles, some from lust for plunder and gain, some from love of enterprise,—they clung to their own independence. The tie which bound them to their leader was of the frailest. They were ready on the slightest pique to attach themselves to another, and some of them abandoned the enterprise altogether. But this independence was their safety. Their obedience was not the mechanical obedience of a modern soldier; it was a reasoning obedience to which their wills consented. And so, when they were bound together by the tie of a common peril, almost of a common despair, they acted in concert, and worked with a will. The contrast between the trained European and the medley armies of the East, such as that which fled from the very sight of Clearchus' men advancing against them, firm and compact, on the battle-field of Cunaxa, has often been repeated in history from Marathon downwards, but here the contrast is a higher one. It is not merely that of military efficiency and inefficiency, but that of the moral training of the free citizen and the cowed helplessness of the slave. The physical training of the Greek had taught him endurance and self-restraint, while his mental and political training had taught him to weigh probabilities and listen to arguments. Nothing is more striking than the deliberate calmness and resolution with which Xenophon's plans are carried out by his men. The born leader is recognised at once, and as long as the

danger lasts he is obeyed. When the peril is over the old independence shows itself in the old ways, and he is fain to confess that 'to exercise command over unwilling subjects is a torment like that of Tantalus.'

But the *Retreat of the Ten Thousand* is no mere illustration of what discipline and courage can do. It was no Balaclava charge, brave but barren. It modified entirely what we may call the foreign policy of the Greeks. The great ogre of the Persian power, which they had feared and tried to conciliate, and had never dreamed of assailing in its own home, was shown to be a hollow phantom :

'That huge great body, which the giant bore,  
Was vanisht quite, and of that monstrous mass  
Was nothing left, but like an empty bladder was.'

Its first-fruits were seen in the ambitious projects of Agesilaus, its full harvest in the conquests of Alexander, which changed the face of the world.

The importance of the Retreat has somewhat overshadowed the Anabasis proper, the history of which is contained in the first book. And yet it is in itself very remarkable. That a youth of seventeen, trained amidst all the servility of an Eastern court, and sent down to take charge of one of the most important provinces in his father's empire, should at once cast aside the traditions of Oriental rule, and seek to win confidence rather than merely to inspire fear, is a proof of an intellectual power that might have done great things. But we may fairly doubt whether Cyrus, if he had lived, and had completed his victory at Cunaxa, would have achieved all that historians have supposed. The key to his character is

his ambition. Encouraged by his mother in the hope of securing the throne at his father's death, he was but ill satisfied with the practical division of the empire, which Darius indicated by sending him to Sardis. From the first his policy was moulded by the wish to frustrate his father's designs. And he saw at a glance that the Greeks, as trained soldiers, were his best instrument for achieving this purpose. Accordingly, instead of keeping up the 'Divide et impera' policy by which Tissaphernes had tried to weaken the Greeks, he threw all his influence into the cause of those who seemed to be strongest, and helped the Spartans to conquer Athens. He received his reward when the Spartan fleet appeared at Issus, to turn the Syro-Cilician gates, and brought Cheirisophus and his seven hundred volunteers to join him. But convinced as he was of the necessity of conciliating the Greeks, and able to put severe restraint upon himself for this end, through all his kindness and suavity the Oriental nature peeps out. The mutilated bodies that lined the roads near Sardis (i. 9. 13), and the lavish profuseness of his gifts to his favourites, alike betray the Eastern despot. And whatever we may think of the story of his attempt to assassinate his brother, which Xenophon represents as a calumny of Tissaphernes, the ungovernable passion which led to his death at Cunaxa reveals the same nature. It may well be that if he had succeeded, he would merely have been one of those reforming Sultans, from whom at their accession so much is expected, but who find it easier to carry on the old traditions than to innovate and change.

The interest of the 'Anabasis,' however, consists not only in its simple and unadorned narrative of noble deeds, but in its pictures of Greek and Oriental life and character. I have noticed in the notes the repeated proofs of the citizen-like constitution of the Greek army, their assemblies, their votes, and their factions. There is another point worthy of special notice, as showing the relative superiority of the Athenian training to that which was common in the rest of Greece. The army consisted almost entirely of the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus and of Northern Greece, men with whom Athens was especially unpopular, and yet it is an Athenian, whose many-sided excellence marks him out at once for their leader and spokesman; and the gift of speech which was so much cultivated at Athens stood him more than once in good stead. The pictures of Persian life bear testimony to the unchangeableness of the East. There, dress and arms are much the same now as then; the tiara is little else than a fez, the rafts on which the natives crossed the Euphrates with their merchandise are the Keleks which are still used on that river. And the characters too are the same: Tissaphernes might be one of the more able of modern Pashas, full of promise, but empty of performance; Parysatis is the predecessor of the Sultana Valide.

It remains that we should say something of the author. Xenophon was the son of Gryllus, and an Athenian. The dates of his birth and of his death are alike unknown. Strabo records a tradition that Socrates saved his life, when he was serving in the cavalry at the battle of



Delium (B.C. 424) ; but this would make him over forty at the time of Cyrus' expedition, and it is hardly conceivable that at that age he should think it possible that any one should object to his youth.<sup>1</sup> Besides, he more than once appeals to his youth, as a reason for his taking the post of danger, or the post where most exertion is required. It seems best therefore to reject Strabo's story, and, with Mr. Grote (PLATO, vol. iii. p. 564), to put the date of his birth at about 430 B.C. He appears to have been a pupil and companion of Socrates. At the invitation of his friend Proxenus (*ἀρχαῖος φίλος*), he joined Cyrus' expedition, and after the treacherous murder of the Greek generals, became one of the leaders of the army, and by his tact and presence of mind, and by his ready eloquence, was the main author of their safe return. His connection with Cyrus and the Spartans made him unwelcome at Athens, and he appears to have resumed the command of the Cyreians in Asia under Dercylidas and Agesilaus. The latter was recalled from Asia in 394 to fight against the confederate armies of Athens, Thebes and Corinth, and Xenophon returning with him fought against his country at Coronea. Probably in consequence of this (the date is uncertain) he was banished from Athens. At the end of his service with Agesilaus, the Spartans, by way of compensation, granted him a house and land at Scillus, near Olympia. Here he seems to have lived for some years, but the place was retaken by the Eleans not long before the battle of

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<sup>1</sup> This is certainly implied by his words (iii. i. 25), οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκμάζειν ἡγοῦμαι ἐρύκειν ἀπ' ἐμαντοῦ τὰ κακά.

Mantineia (362 B.C.), and he was obliged to find a home elsewhere. His sentence of banishment was repealed, but he did not return to Athens. He is said to have died at Corinth: probably about 355 B.C.

The *Anabasis* is supposed to have been written at Scillus after the battle of Coronea. It is written in a simple, straightforward style which carries with it the conviction of truthfulness. His other historical work, the *Hellenica*, a continuation of the *History* of Thucydides, is, however, to be read with some caution, his Laconian bias having frequently misled him. His other works are the *Memorabilia*, or *Memoirs* of Socrates, in which he shows from the words and deeds of his teacher that the charges brought against him were untrue; the *Cyropædia*, a kind of historical romance intended to convey his view of the science of government, three dialogues referring to the teaching of Socrates, a political portrait of Agesilaus, and some practical treatises on hunting, and horses, and finance. His style is sober and practical rather than elevated; simple and lucid, but often more effective by its bare narrative of fact than any ornaments of rhetoric could make it.



## HISTORICAL SKETCH.

### BOOKS III. IV.

THE Greeks were left without their leaders. So far the treachery of Tissaphernes had succeeded, and, if it had been followed up by a vigorous attack on the Greek camp before they had time to recover from the blow, the consequences might have been serious. But the same indolent folly which had left the Euphrates unguarded, and the trench which had been cut with so much labour, showed itself once more. Instead of the attacking force, for which the Greeks had already begun to prepare themselves, a small company of 300 Persians only appeared, with Ariaeus and Mithridates, both friends of Cyrus, as if expecting quietly to take possession of their prey. They were received with indignation and scorn, but still the Greeks could only regard the evil day as postponed, and gave themselves up to helpless despondency. There seemed to be no hope. They were in a strange land, cut off from retreat by natural difficulties, which were hard enough to surmount if all went smoothly, and now they were left without guidance or leadership in the face of powerful foes. No wonder that they could not sleep.

But help was nearer than they thought. Xenophon, the Athenian, had been present when Ariaeus had come to demand their surrender. He held no official post in



the army, which he had joined solely from a spirit of adventure, hoping, it may be, to make his fortune under Cyrus' patronage. He too was restless and sorrowful, but for a time he slept, and in his sleep he dreamt that his father's house was struck by lightning and broke out into a bright blaze. To a religious Greek such a dream was a message from heaven, and though destruction seemed to hem him round, yet the bright light from a friendly house was an omen of deliverance. Thus roused, as he conceived, by a Divine warning, he, as an Athenian, versatile and full of resource from the very nature of his training, concluded at once that he must be up and doing. So without more delay he called together the captains who had served under his friend Proxenus, and with whom he was naturally most intimate, and urged them to take the lead in repairing, as far as possible, the mischief which had been done. They listened to his request, and from them the movement passed on to the remaining officers of the army. The captains in the divisions which had been deprived of their generals were called upon to elect fresh leaders in their stead, and to fill up also the places that were thus made vacant. Xenophon himself was one of those thus chosen, succeeding to the place of his friend Proxenus.

When these measures had been taken, the soldiers were appealed to, and here again Xenophon took the lead. Happily seizing upon the 'Zeus, save us,' that greeted an accidental sneeze as an augury of good, he cheered his audience by pointing out to them that the gods were on their side, for the gods would

never support treachery and wrong. The acts of Tissaphernes had released them from all obligation to him ; they were justified in living upon their enemies, and taking food where they found it, now that he had thus foully broken the truce. Natural difficulties might be overcome by patience, and if the worst came to the worst, they had only to settle where they were, and their enemies would pay any price to get rid of them. Discipline and order would bring them safe through all.

His speech was successful ; the men indorsed the action taken by their officers, and agreed to start at once, drawn up in a hollow square, for some villages two miles off, where there was abundant store of provisions. Cheirisophus, as a Spartan, was to lead the van, Xenophon and Timasion to bring up the rear. In order to leave themselves unencumbered for their retreat, they disposed of all their superfluous baggage, and burnt their waggons and their tents, and then fortified themselves for their start by their morning meal. While they were engaged with this, Mithridates appeared, offering to join them if they would tell him their plans. At first they were deluded by his plausible talk, but they soon detected the trap that was being laid for them, and, to guard themselves against similar danger in the future, they resolved to receive no communications from the enemy as long as they were in his country.

At last the army made a move, and crossed the greater Zab without any attempt on the part of the Persians to dispute their passage. Wishing to return to the Tigris valley that they might be more certain of their bearings,

they took their course along the right bank of the river. They had not gone far when Mithridates again appeared, this time unmasking himself; for, having by a profession of friendly intentions got within bowshot, he inflicted serious damage on the Grecian rear by means of his cavalry and his light-armed troops. Xenophon made vain attempts to repel the foe, but they were more active than his hoplites could be, and so each charge and sally that he made only led to fresh difficulty in rejoining the main body. Not till evening did they reach the villages for which they were making, having spent most of the day on a march of three miles. But Xenophon had learnt his lesson. In answer to the reproaches of the other leaders for his folly in exposing his men by useless sallies, he confessed his blunder, and pointed out that their only hope of safety from such molestation in future was in providing a new force of bowmen, and javelin-men, and cavalry. Making the most of the resources at his disposal, he organised this new force on the morrow, halting in the villages for the purpose. The day after they proceeded on their march, first crossing the ravine formed by the Bumadus, on whose banks apparently they had been halting. This again they passed without interference, but shortly after they had gained the other side their old enemy Mithridates appeared for the third time, confident of an easy victory. But this time he was foiled. The newly-organised band did its work well, and he was routed with considerable loss.

For the rest of the day they marched on in safety, and for the next day also, passing the ruins of two

mighty cities, remnants of the old Assyrian power. These cities are identified with *Nimroud* and *Kouyunjik*, the latter one of the quarters of Nineveh. But on the third day Tissaphernes appeared again, and for some days followed them, skirmishing and harassing their rear. The ground had now become more undulating, and the streams more frequent, and the arrangement of a hollow square, which had been adopted for the protection of the baggage and the lightly armed, was found to be very inconvenient. To remedy the defect, six companies were formed into what may be called a moveable column, which could stay behind, when any bridge or narrow defile was to be passed, and so enable the square to be compressed without throwing the men in the centre of it into disorder.

After some days' march they came to a more hilly country, which they hoped would save them from the constant attacks of the enemy's horse; but they found the heights already occupied by their foes, who could easily assail them from the higher ground. They overcame this danger by sending troops higher up the ridge to take the Persians in flank on the other side, and so managed to reach the valley of the *Khabur* in safety. But they had suffered much in this last march, and they were obliged to halt for some time till their wounded could be seen to. Once more, as they crossed from the valley of the *Khabur* to that of the Tigris, the same tactics were tried, but once more they were defeated. The Greeks again occupied ground still higher, and so turned the enemy's tactics against himself by putting him between two fires. Yet, though

they thus escaped one great danger, they seemed but little better off than before. The Persians had attempted to cut off their supplies and their shelter by burning the villages near, which contained some store of provisions. And though by Xenophon's energetic measures this attempt was partly defeated, the Greeks were in a very difficult position. They had reached that point in the Tigris valley where the mountains of Kurdistan come down directly to the river, allowing no passage; they had no means of crossing the river, and though a Rhodian offered to make a pontoon bridge to enable them to cross, the fact that a large Persian force was ready on the other side to dispute their landing, made the idea impracticable; and they could not return by the way by which they had come, for that, too, was blocked by an enemy's force. Only two paths lay open to them; to pass eastward into the heart of Persia, or to face the perils of the Carduchian mountains, which lay straight ahead of them. The former course would lead them away still farther from their home, and entangle them still more in an unknown country, while the latter, as they learnt, would bring them to the highlands of Armenia, where at any rate they might pass the Tigris and Euphrates near their sources. So they adopted the latter alternative, and much to the surprise of the Persians, who thought themselves sure of their prey, they plunged into the mountains of Kurdistan which separate the eastern Tigris from the Khabur.

Starting some time before daybreak, so as to cross the plain in the dark, they climbed the first ridge, and descended into the valley on the other side, probably

that which is known by the name of *Mar-yuhannah*. Here they found many villages nestling in the clefts and hollows, but all deserted by their inhabitants. The Greeks had hoped that the Carduchians, moved by their common hostility to the Persian King, would lend them a helping hand, and so carefully abstained from plunder, and sent them conciliatory messages. But the mountaineers did not care to have their homes invaded by Greeks any more than by Persians, and refused all communication with them. They even ventured to attack their rear, and Xenophon confesses that had a larger number been collected, it would have gone badly with the Greeks. During the night they kindled beacon fires to rouse their kinsmen. On the following day the generals of the Greeks issued strict orders that all the baggage that could be dispensed with should be left behind, and themselves held a vigilant scrutiny as the army filed past them in a narrow defile. This day they continued their march, fighting at intervals. On the third day the weather was stormy, but the want of provisions forced them to pursue their march. The enemy kept constantly harassing their rear, and Xenophon was obliged to make repeated halts, while Cheirisophus with the van, in spite of frequent appeals from Xenophon for aid, kept pressing forward as fast as he could. When they came to their halt for the night, the reason of this was very obvious. Before them lay a deep ravine, on the other side of which the road ascended a steep hill, the exit at the top of which was held by a large force of the enemy. Cheirisophus had seen this, and had tried to reach it before them, but in vain.

There was apparently no other outlet, nor did the guide know of any other. But it happened that Xenophon's men had taken a couple of prisoners. These were called up and questioned, and when the first denied any knowledge of another road, he was slain in the presence of his comrade. The latter then, in fear of his life, confessed that there was another and an easier road, practicable even for baggage-cattle, and offered to guide them by it. It would be necessary for them, however, to occupy an eminence by the side of the path, which commanded both it and the direct road. A body of volunteers was detached under his guidance to perform this duty, and while Xenophon with the rest of the men made a feint as if he would force the direct road, followed the other path, and surprised an outpost of the enemy, posted, as they thought, on the eminence in question. When day dawned they descended by a cross path upon the plain, where the main body of the Carduchians was stationed, and took them in flank. Cheirisophus, with his half of the troops, pressed on at the same time along the direct road, and secured the passage. Xenophon, with the rear and the baggage, chose the easier and circuitous road, and after repeated encounters with the natives, who occupied every point of vantage, at last rejoined the rest, though with some loss, and with danger even of his own life. For two more days, of which we have no details, they were thus in constant conflict with these bold mountaineers, and it was with great joy that they found themselves at length on the last plateau overhanging the Kentrites, or Eastern Tigris (the *Böhtan Tschai*). All the ill-treatment that

they had before received from the King and from Tis-saphernes was eclipsed by the memory of their sufferings during these seven days in Kurdistan.

The alarm, however, had already been given, and when day returned they saw that a fresh foe was in waiting to dispute the passage of the river. They descended into the valley and tried the ford, but the stream was too rapid and the bottom too rough to allow of their crossing. When they looked back they saw that their last night's bivouac on the plateau behind them was already in the possession of the Carduchi. That day and night they spent in the greatest despondency and distress. On the following day, as if in confirmation of a dream of good omen which had appeared to Xenophon, news was brought to him that a ford had been discovered higher up the river, which was inaccessible to the cavalry on the other side. To this ford they proceeded, and, while Cheirisophus with the van and the baggage was crossing, Xenophon with his own detachment hurried back to the other ford, as if to cross there and take the enemy in the rear. These tactics were successful; the enemy retired, and Xenophon was able by a rapid return to effect the passage, though not till after a renewed conflict with the Carduchians, who had by this time descended into the plain.

Once over, they pursued their way over the mountains by *Sert* and *Bitlis*, passing the head waters of the Tigris, to the valley of the Teleboas (the *Kara Su*), which flows down into the plain of *Mush*. They were now in Armenia, and the satrap, Tiribazus, met them



in this valley, and agreed to let them pass unharmed, provided that they contented themselves with taking the necessary provisions. But as he continued to hang upon their rear, they still kept a constant look-out against any treachery or surprise. They were now at some 4000 feet above the sea level, in midwinter, and the snowy season set in to add to their suffering. There was little possibility, however, of any attack with snow on the ground, so that for awhile they had a little rest. But Tiribazus was not inactive meanwhile, and, when they wished to resume their march, they found the passes on their way to the Euphrates valley in the occupation of the enemy. They had, however, an easy victory, and after three days' more marching they reached the Euphrates (*Murad Su*), and crossed it near the junction of the *Tscharbahur*. The four or five days that followed were probably the most trying of the whole Retreat. The snow lay in many places six feet deep, and a bitter north wind was blowing in their faces, and to all the sufferings of cold and frost-bite and snow-blindness were added the pangs of hunger. Cheirisophus again pushed ahead without much thought for those behind, but Xenophon did what he could to cheer and support them. Parted from the van, they were obliged to bivouac in the snow, with an enemy close on their rear. On the following day they rejoined their companions, who had reached a group of villages, probably in the neighbourhood of *Chynys* on the southern slopes of the *Bingöl Dag*h. Here they stayed for seven days, revelling in rest and plenty, and then set out again on their march, taking the head man of the village

with them as their guide, but Cheirisophus managed to quarrel with him before three days were over. They then marched along the Phasis (the modern *Pasin Su*, the upper part of the *Aras*), for seven days, and then struck across the country for the hills above *Hassan Kaleh*, that separate this valley from the valley of the *Olti*, a district which still in the name *Taikh* retains a trace of its old inhabitants, the Taochi. As they were crossing this range (the *Kiretschli Dagh*), they were confronted by a combined force of Chalybes and Taochi and Phasiani. The summit of the pass was a flat table-land, and Xenophon again brought his old tactics into play, by reaching this table-land by a side path and taking the enemy in flank. By this means they secured their passage, and came to some villages plentifully supplied with provisions. But for some days afterwards, while they were passing through the district of the Taochi, they suffered from the lack of victuals, for the natives gathered themselves and their cattle in their mountain strongholds, and the only chance of the Greeks was to storm the stronghold and take the booty. One such storming Xenophon describes at some length; it is probably only a specimen of many more. After this they came to the territory of the Chalybes, a very warlike tribe. They too had stored their valuables in strong places, but the Greeks had now the cattle which they had taken from the Taochi to supply them with meat. The next topographical mark that Xenophon gives is the river Harpasus, which is identified with the *Tschoruk Su*, so familiar recently in connection with the port of *Batoum*, close to its mouth;

but the point at which the Greeks struck the river is uncertain. The territory of the Skythini, through which they next pass, is identified by Kiepert, with some probability, with the neighbourhood of *Ispir*, and thence they would probably follow the valley to the neighbourhood of the modern *Baiburt*. The geography is however unsettled. (See notes, and additional note at the end of Book IV.) They came to a town named *Gymnias*, and from there received a guide, who took them through the territory of a tribe that was at war with his own people, and brought them to a mountain called *Theches*, or the sacred mountain, which was so near the sea that he could pledge himself five days beforehand that they should see the sea from it. The sight seemed to tell them that now at last their perils were past, and they might return without much ado to their homes, but they still had fresh enemies to encounter before they even reached it. With the first of these they were able to come to some agreement, for there was a freedman in the army who recognised the language of his childhood, and assured his people of their peaceful intentions. But their last mountain pass was contested by another tribe of natives, the *Colchi*. Xenophon's generalship again came into play, and by letting his men climb the hill in detached columns he was able to destroy the advantage of position which the enemy had, and to force the passage. Two more stages brought them to *Trapezus* (the modern *Trebizond*). Here for thirty days they remained to recruit, and with solemn sacrifices and games set forth their thanks to the gods who had brought them safe out of all their peril.

# ITINERARY TO BOOKS III. IV. (After Kühner).

	Para- sangs.	Days' Jour- neys.	Days' Halts.	Date, B.C. 401-400.
To the Bumadus (iii. 3. 11),	(25 stadia.)	I	...	October 23. B.C. 401.
On its banks (iii. 3. 12.-4. 1),	...	...	I	,, 24.
To Larissa (iii. 4. 7),	...	I	...	,, 25.
To Mespila (iii. 4. 10),	6	I	...	,, 26.
To certain Villages (iii. 4. 13-17),	4	I	...	,, 27.
Halt there (iii. 4. 18),	...	...	I	,, 28.
Over the plain (iii. 4. 18),	...	I	...	,, 29.
To the Residency (iii. 4. 24),	...	5	...	,, 30—Nov. 3.
Halt there (iii. 4. 31),	...	...	3	November 4-6.
To certain villages in the valley of the Khabur (iii. 4. 32),	...	I	...	,, 7.
To the plain of Bezabde (iii. 4. 36-5. 1),	...	3	...	,, 8-10.
In the plain (iii. 5. 13),	...	I	...	,, 11.
Through Kurdistan (iv. 1 and 2),	...	7	...	,, 12-18.
On the banks of the Kentrites (iv. 3),	...	...	I	,, 19.
To the head waters of the Tigris (iv. 4. 3),	15	3	...	,, 20-22.
To the Teleboas (iv. 4. 3),	15	3	...	,, 23-25.
Over the plain of Mush (iv. 4. 7),	15	3	...	,, 26-28.
Halt there (iv. 4. 8-22),	...	...	2	,, 29-30.
To the Euphrates (iv. 5. 1-2),	...	4	...	Dec. 1-4.
To Chynys (iv. 5. 3-10),	...	4	...	,, 5-8.
Halt at villages (iv. 5. 24-36),	...	...	7	,, 9-15.
Crossing the mountains (iv. 6. 1-3),	...	3	...	,, 16-18.
Along the Phasis (iv. 6. 4),	35	7	...	,, 19-25.
To Kiretschli Dagħ (iv. 6. 5),	10	2	...	,, 26-27.
Halt (iv. 6. 6),	...	...	I	,, 28.
Passing the mountain (iv. 6. 22),	...	I	...	,, 29.
In the land of the Taochi (iv. 7. 1),	} 30	5	...	{ ,, 30—Jan. 3. B.C. 400.
,, ,, Chalybes (iv. 7. 15),	50	7	...	Jan. 4-10.
,, ,, Skythini (iv. 7. 18),	20	4	...	,, 11-14.
Halt (iv. 7. 18),	...	...	3	,, 15-18.
To Gymnias (iv. 7. 19),	20	4	...	,, 19-22.
To Mount Theches (iv. 7. 21),	...	5	...	,, 23-27.
In the land of the Makrones (iv. 8-1),	10	3	...	,, 28-30.
,, ,, Colchi,*	...	3	...	,, 31—Feb. 2.
Battle (iv. 8. 9-19),	...	...	I	Feb. 3.
Delay in Honey-villages (iv. 8. 21),	...	...	3	,, 4-6.
To Trapezus (iv. 8. 22),	7	2	...	,, 7-8.

\* I have followed Kühner's authority here ; but it seems more probable that these three days are the same with those just mentioned. We are told that they marched three days διὰ Μακρώνων. On the first of these days they crossed the frontier (iv. 8. 1). They came to friendly terms with the people, who afterwards παρήγαγον ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις, ἕως οὗ ἐπὶ τὰ Κόλχων ὄρια κατέστησαν τοὺς Ἕλληνας. The three days were therefore passed in the land of the Makrones. In the honey-villages four days are mentioned, but the first would be the day of their arrival.



# ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

## ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ

### ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ.

\*.\* The numbers above the line refer to the Rules of Syntax which follow the text, and apply to the words which they follow.

*XENOPHON TAKES THE LEADERSHIP OF THE GREEKS, AND  
CONTINUES THE MARCH UP THE LEFT BANK OF THE  
TIGRIS TO THE MOUNTAINS OF KURDISTAN.*

### CHAPTER I.

*Distress of the Greeks, cut off apparently from their retreat in a strange  
land, and deserted by their own allies.*

1. Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Κύρου ἀναβάσει οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔπραξαν μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα, ἐπεὶ Κύρος ἐτελεύτησεν,<sup>52</sup> ἐγένετο ἀπιόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων<sup>58b</sup> σὺν Τιτσαφέρνει ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. 2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τε στρατηγοὶ συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν<sup>21a</sup> οἱ συνεπόμενοι ἀπολώλεσαν, ἐν πολλῇ δὴ ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐννοούμενοι μὲν, ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις ἦσαν,<sup>47</sup> κύκλῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς<sup>17b</sup> πάντα πολλὰ καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις πολέμια ἦσαν, ἀγορὰν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι παρέξειν ἔμελλεν, ἀπείχον δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος<sup>24</sup> οὐ μείον ἢ μύρια στάδια,<sup>14a</sup> ἡγεμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς τῆς ὁδοῦ<sup>20</sup> ἦν, ποταμοὶ δὲ διείργον ἀδιάβατοι ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ,<sup>25</sup> προὔδεδώκεσαν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες· βάρβαροι, μόνοι δὲ καταλειμμένοι ἦσαν, οὐδὲ ἵππεια οὐδένα· σύμμαχον ἔχοντες· ὥστε εὐδηλον ἦν, ὅτι νικῶντες<sup>58c</sup> μὲν οὐδένα ἂν κατακάνοιεν,<sup>53c</sup> ἡττηθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἂν λειφθείη. 3. Ταῦτα ἐννοούμενοι καὶ ἀθύμως ἔχοντες, ὀλίγοι μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἐσπέραν σίτου<sup>23</sup> ἐγεύσαντο, ὀλίγοι δὲ πῦρ ἀνέκαυσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ὅπλα πολλοὶ οὐκ ἦλθον ταύτην τὴν νύκτα<sup>14a</sup> ἀνεπαύοντο δὲ ὅπου ἐτύγχανεν ἕκαστος, οὐ δυνάμενοι καθεύδειν ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ πόθου πατρίδων,<sup>22</sup> γονέων, γυναικῶν, παίδων, οὓς οὐποτ' ἐνόμιζον ἔτι ὄψεσθαι. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ διακείμενοι<sup>58f</sup> πάντες ἀνεπαύοντο.

*How Xenophon came to join the expedition. Invited by his friend Proxenus he consulted his old teacher Socrates, who sent him to inquire of the oracle at Delphi. He joins Cyrus at Sardis.*

4. Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς οὔτε στρατηγὸς οὔτε λοχαγὸς οὔτε στρατιώτης ὦν συνηκολούθει, ἀλλὰ Πρόξενος αὐτὸν μετεπέμψατο οἴκοθεν, ξένος ὦν ἀρχαῖος· ὑπισχνεῖτο δὲ αὐτῷ, εἰ ἔλθοι, φίλον αὐτὸν Κύρῳ ποιήσκειν,<sup>43a</sup> ὃν αὐτὸς<sup>9</sup> ἔφη κρεῖττω ἑαυτῷ νομίζειν τῆς πατρίδος.<sup>25</sup> 5. Ὁ μέντοι Ξενοφῶν ἀναγνοὺς<sup>58b</sup> τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνακοινοῦται Σωκράτει<sup>16</sup> τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ περὶ τῆς πορείας. Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, ὑποπτεύσας μή τι πρὸς τῆς πόλεως οἱ ἐπαίτιον εἴη<sup>43d</sup> Κύρῳ φίλον γενέσθαι,<sup>29b</sup> ὅτι ἐδόκει ὁ Κῦρος προθύμως τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας συμπολεμῆσαι, συμβουλεύει τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ἐλθόντα<sup>9</sup> εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνακοινῶσαι<sup>44</sup> τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς πορείας. 6. Ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐπήρετο τὸν Ἀπόλλω, τίνι ἂν θεῶν θύων καὶ εὐχόμενος<sup>58c</sup> κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔλθοι<sup>58c</sup> τὴν ὁδόν, ἣν ἐπινοεῖ, καὶ καλῶς πράξας<sup>58b, f</sup> σωθείη. Καὶ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀπόλλων θεοῖς, οἷς ἔδει, θύειν.<sup>44</sup> Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἦλθε, λέγει τὴν μαντείαν τῷ Σωκράτει. 7. Ὁ δ' ἀκούσας ἡτιᾶτο αὐτὸν, ὅτι οὐ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἡρώτα,<sup>51</sup> πότερον λῶν εἴη<sup>45</sup> αὐτῷ πορεύεσθαι<sup>29a</sup> ἢ μένειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κρίνας ἰτέον<sup>31a</sup> εἶναι, τοῦτ' ἐπυνθάνετο, ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα πορευθείη.<sup>45</sup> “Ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτως ἦρου, ταῦτ’,” ἔφη, “χρὴ ποιεῖν ὅσα ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσεν.” 8. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ξενοφῶν οὕτω, θυσάμενος οἷς<sup>4a</sup> ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεὸς, ἐξέπλει καὶ καταλαμβάνει ἐν Σάρδεσι Πρόξενον καὶ Κῦρον, μέλλοντας ἤδη ὁρμᾶν τὴν ἄνω ὁδόν,<sup>10</sup> καὶ συνεστάθη Κύρῳ.<sup>16</sup> 9. Προθυμουμένου δὲ τοῦ Προξένου,<sup>27</sup> καὶ ὁ Κῦρος συμπροϋθυμεῖτο μέναι αὐτόν· εἶπε δὲ, ὅτι, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα ἡ στρατεία λήξῃ,<sup>39b</sup> εὐθὺς ἀποπέμψει αὐτόν. Ἐλέγετο δὲ ὁ στόλος<sup>43a, Obs.</sup> εἶναι εἰς Πισίδας.

*Like the rest of the Greeks, ignorant of their destination, he acquiesced in it out of respect to Cyrus. While the rest are now in despair, he is roused to action by a dream.*

10. Ἐστρατεύετο μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐξαπατηθεὶς, οὐχ ὑπὸ Προξένου.<sup>41a</sup> οὐ γὰρ ᾔδει τὴν ἐπὶ βασιλέα ὁρμὴν, οὐδὲ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλὴν Κλεάρχου.<sup>67</sup> ἐπεὶ μέντοι εἰς Κιλικίαν ἦλθον,<sup>52</sup> σαφὲς πᾶσιν ἤδη ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὅτι ὁ στόλος εἴη<sup>43b</sup> ἐπὶ βασιλέα.

Φοβούμενοι<sup>58d</sup> δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ ἄκοντες ὁμῶς οἱ πολλοὶ δι' αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀλλήλων<sup>22</sup> καὶ Κύρου συνηκολούθησαν· ὧν εἷς καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἦν. 11. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπορία ἦν, ἐλυνεῖτο μὲν σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο καθεύδειν· μικρὸν δ' ὕπνου<sup>21a</sup> λαχὼν εἶδεν ὄναρ· ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ, βροντῆς γενομένης,<sup>27</sup> σκηπτὸς πεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρίαν οἰκίαν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου λάμπεσθαι πᾶσαν. 12. Περίφοβος δ' εὐθὺς ἀνηγέρθη, καὶ τὸ ὄναρ πῇ μὲν ἔκρινεν ἀγαθόν, ὅτι ἐν πόνοις ὦν καὶ κινδύνοις φῶς μέγα ἐκ Διὸς ἰδεῖν ἔδοξε·<sup>51</sup> πῇ δὲ καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο, ὅτι ἀπὸ Διὸς μὲν βασιλέως τὸ ὄναρ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ εἶναι, κύκλῳ δ' ἐδόκει λάμπεσθαι τὸ πῦρ, μὴ οὐ δύναίτο<sup>43d</sup> ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐξελθεῖν τῆς βασιλέως, ἀλλ' εἴργοιτο πάντοθεν ὑπὸ τινων ἀποριῶν.

*Why, he asks himself, are we all lying here instead of devising means of safety?*

13. Ὅποιόν τι μέντοι ἐστὶ<sup>45</sup> τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄναρ ἰδεῖν,<sup>30</sup> ἔξεστι σκοπεῖν ἐκ τῶν συμβάντων μετὰ τὸ ὄναρ.<sup>66</sup> Γίνεται γὰρ τάδε· Εὐθὺς ἐπειδὴ ἀνηγέρθη,<sup>52</sup> πρῶτον μὲν ἔννοια αὐτῷ<sup>16</sup> ἐμπίπτει· “Τί κατάκειμαι; ἡ δὲ νύξ προβαίνει· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰκὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἥξειν. Εἰ δὲ γενησόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ, τί ἐμποδὼν μὴ οὐχὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἐπιδόντας,<sup>58b</sup> πάντα δὲ τὰ δεινότερα παθόντας ὑβριζομένους<sup>58f</sup> ἀποθανεῖν; 14. Ὅπως δ' ἀμυνούμεθα,<sup>50\*</sup> οὐδεὶς παρασκευάζεται, οὐδὲ ἐπιμελεῖται, ἀλλὰ κατακεῖμεθα, ὥσπερ ἐξόν<sup>61</sup> ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν· Ἐγὼ οὖν τὸν ἐκ ποίας πόλεως στρατηγὸν<sup>8</sup> προσδοκῶ ταῦτα πράξειν; ποίαν δ' ἡλικίαν ἐμαυτῷ ἐλθεῖν ἀναμένω; Οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔτι πρεσβύτερος ἔσομαι, ἐὰν τήμερον προδῶ<sup>53b</sup> ἐμαυτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις.”

*He calls together Proxenus' captains, and addresses them. 'The enemy are evidently well prepared, and what mercy can we expect from the man who could mutilate the dead body of his own brother.'*

15. Ἐκ τούτου ἀνίσταται καὶ συγκαλεῖ τοὺς Προξένου πρῶτον λοχαγούς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἔλεξεν· “Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες λοχαγοί, οὔτε καθεύδειν δύναμαι, ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, οὐδ' ὑμεῖς, οὔτε κατακεῖσθαι ἔτι, ὁρῶν<sup>58a</sup> ἐν οἷσις ἐσμέν. 16. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολέμιοι δῆλον ὅτι οὐ πρότερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξέφηναν, πρὶν ἐνόμισαν<sup>52a</sup> καλῶς τὰ ἑαυτῶν παρεσκευάσθαι· ἡμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἀντεπιμελεῖται, ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα.<sup>50\*</sup> 17. Καὶ μὴν εἰ ὑφησόμεθα καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ γενησόμεθα,<sup>53a</sup> τί οἰόμεθα πείσεσθαι;



ὃς καὶ τοῦ ὁμομητρίου καὶ ὁμοπατρίου ἀδελφοῦ καὶ τεθνηκότος<sup>58b</sup> ἤδη ἀποτεμὼν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀνεσταύρωσεν· ἡμᾶς δὲ, οἷς<sup>18</sup> κηδεμῶν μὲν οὐδεὶς πάρεστιν, ἐστρατεύσαμεν δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὡς δοῦλον ἀντὶ βασιλέως ποιήσοντες<sup>50a</sup> καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες, εἰ δυναίμεθα, τί ἂν οἰόμεθα παθεῖν; <sup>54b, 55</sup> 18. Ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἔλθοι, ὡς ἡμᾶς τὰ ἔσχατα αἰκισάμενος<sup>58c</sup> πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φόβον παράσχοι<sup>50</sup> τοῦ στρατεῦσαί<sup>29</sup> ποτε ἐπ' αὐτόν; Ἄλλ' ὅπως τοι μὴ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γενησόμεθα<sup>50a</sup> πάντα ποιητέον.

*'I have been distressed, during this truce, at the thought of our unfavourable position as compared with theirs: but now that we are free, their very advantages are prizes for us to win.'*

19. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ἔστε μὲν αἱ σπονδαὶ ἦσαν,<sup>52</sup> οὐποτε ἐπαυόμην ἡμᾶς μὲν οἰκτείρων,<sup>59</sup> βασιλέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μακαρίζων, διαθεώμενος αὐτῶν<sup>26</sup> ὅσῃ μὲν χώραν καὶ οἶαν ἔχοιεν, ὡς δὲ ἄφθονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσους δὲ θεράποντας, ὅσα δὲ κτήνη, χρυσὸν δὲ, ἐσθῆτα δέ. 20. Τὰ δ' αὖ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁπότε ἐνθυμοίμην,<sup>40b</sup> ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν πάντων οὐδενὸς<sup>21a</sup> ἡμῖν μετεΐη, εἰ μὴ τι πριαίμεθα, ὅτου δ' ὠνησόμεθα<sup>40b</sup> ἥδιν ἔτι ὀλίγους ἔχοντας,<sup>43c</sup> ἄλλως δέ πως πορίζεσθαι<sup>44</sup> τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἢ ὠνουμένους ὄρκους ἤδη κατέχοντας ἡμᾶς· ταῦτ' οὖν λογιζόμενος, ἐνίστε τὰς σπονδὰς μᾶλλον ἐφοβούμην ἢ νῦν τὸν πόλεμον. 21. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐκείνοι ἔλυσαν τὰς σπονδὰς, λελύσθαι<sup>34</sup> μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἡ ἐκείνων ὕβρις καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα ὑποψία. Ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ ἤδη κείται ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἄθλα, ὁπότεροι ἂν ἡμῶν ἄνδρες ἀμείνονες ᾧσιν,<sup>39b</sup> ἀγνοθέται δ' οἱ θεοὶ εἰσιν, οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, ἔσονται.

*'The gods will be on our side for THEY are the truce-breakers: and we are their superiors both physically and morally. Let US urge on the rest: I will take any post you assign me, whether it be to follow or to lead.'*

22. Οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπιωρκήκασιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ, πολλὰ ὀρῶντες ἀγαθὰ, στερρῶς αὐτῶν<sup>24</sup> ἀπειχόμεθα διὰ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν<sup>22</sup> ὄρκους· ὥστε ἐξεῖναί μοι δοκεῖ ἵεναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα πολὺ σὺν φρονήματι μείζονι ἢ τούτοις. 23. Ἔτι δ' ἔχομεν σώματα ἱκανώτερα τούτων<sup>25</sup> καὶ ψύχη καὶ θάληπη καὶ πόνους φέρειν·<sup>39c</sup> ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ ψυχὰς σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμείνονας· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες καὶ τρωτοὶ καὶ θνητοὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῶν, ἢν οἱ θεοὶ, ὥσπερ τὸ πρόσθεν, νίκην ἡμῖν

διδῶσιν.<sup>38</sup> 24. 'Αλλ' ἴσως γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι ταῦτ' ἐνθυμοῦνται, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, μὴ ἀναμένωμεν<sup>Subj. I. 1.</sup> ἄλλους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν<sup>39b</sup> παρακαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τὰ κάλλιστα ἔργα, ἄλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρξωμεν τοῦ ἐξορμῆσαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν. Φάνητε τῶν λοχαγῶν<sup>21a</sup> ἄριστοι καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀξιοστρατηγότεροι. 25. Κἀγὼ δέ, εἰ μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐθέλετε ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα, ἔπεσθαι ὑμῖν<sup>16</sup> βούλομαι, εἰ δ' ὑμεῖς τάττετέ με ἡγεῖσθαι, οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκμάζειν ἡγοῦμαι ἐρύκειν<sup>39d</sup> ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ τὰ κακά."

*The captains call on Xenophon to take the command, Apollonides alone dissenting. Xenophon shows from their experience hitherto, that with arms in their hands the Persians are afraid of them, and stigmatises Apollonides' advice as unworthy of a Greek. One of the officers proves that he is no Greek but a slave.*

26. 'Ο μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεξεν· οἱ δὲ ἀρχηγοὶ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἡγεῖσθαι<sup>44</sup> ἐκέλευον πάντες, πλὴν 'Απολλωνίδης τις ἦν, Βοιωτιάζων τῇ φωνῇ.<sup>19a</sup> οὗτος δ' εἶπεν, ὅτι φλυαροίη<sup>43b</sup> ὅστις λέγει<sup>47</sup> ἄλλως πως σωτηρίας<sup>28</sup> ἂν τυχεῖν ἢ βασιλέα πείσας<sup>58f</sup> εἰ δύναίτο· καὶ ἅμα ἤρχετο λέγειν τὰς ἀπορίας. 27. 'Ο μέντοι Ξενοφῶν μεταξὺ ὑπολαβὼν ἔλεξεν ὧδε· "ὦ θαυμασιώτατε ἄνθρωπε, σύ γε οὐδὲ ὁρῶν γινώσκεις, οὐδὲ ἀκούων μέμνησαι. 'Εν ταύτῳ γε μέντοι ἦσθα τούτοις,<sup>16</sup> ὅτε βασιλεὺς, ἐπεὶ Κῦρος ἀπέθανε,<sup>52</sup> μέγα φρονήσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ, πέμπων ἐκέλευε παραδιδόναι τὰ ὅπλα. 28. 'Επεὶ δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐ παραδόντες, ἀλλ' ἐξωπλισμένοι ἐλθόντες παρεσκηνήσαμεν αὐτῷ, τί οὐκ ἐποίησε πρέσβεις πέμπων<sup>58f</sup> καὶ σπονδὰς αἰτῶν καὶ παρέχων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἔστε σπονδῶν ἔτυχεν;<sup>52</sup> 29. 'Επεὶ δ' αὖ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ, ὥσπερ δὴ σὺ κελεύεις, εἰς λόγους αὐτοῖς ἄνευ ὅπλων<sup>67</sup> ἦλθον πιστεύσαντες<sup>58a</sup> ταῖς σπονδαῖς,<sup>16</sup> οὐ νῦν ἐκεῖνοι παιόμενοι, κεντούμενοι, ὑβριζόμενοι, οὐδ' ἀποθανεῖν οἱ τλήμονες δύνανται, καὶ μάλ', οἶμαι, ἐρῶντες<sup>58d</sup> τούτου; ἂ σὺ πάντα εἰδὼς τοὺς μὲν ἀμύνασθαι<sup>44</sup> κελεύοντας φλυαρεῖν<sup>43a</sup> φῆς, πείθειν δὲ πάλιν κελεύεις ἰόντας; 30. 'Εμοὶ δὲ, ὦ ἄνδρες, δοκεῖ τὸν<sup>6a</sup> ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον μήτε προσίεσθαι εἰς ταῦτ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀφελομένους τε τὴν λοχαγίαν σκεύη ἀναθέντας ὥς τοιούτῳ<sup>19a</sup> χρῆσθαι. Οὗτος γὰρ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καταισχύνει καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὅτι<sup>51</sup> Ἕλληνας ὦν<sup>58d</sup> τοιοῦτός ἐστιν."

31. Ἐντεῦθεν ὑπολαβὼν Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος εἶπεν, "Ἀλλὰ

τούτῳ γε οὔτε τῆς Βοιωτίας<sup>21a</sup> προσήκει οὐδὲν οὔτε τῆς Ἑλλάδος παντάπασιν, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν εἶδον, ὥσπερ Λυδὸν, ἀμφότερα τὰ ὦτα τετρυνημένον.”<sup>23c</sup> Καὶ εἶχεν οὕτως.

*Gathering of all the surviving officers. Xenophon is called upon to speak.*

32. Τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἀπήλασαν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι παρὰ τὰς τάξεις<sup>10</sup> ἰόντες, ὅπου μὲν στρατηγὸς σῶος εἶη,<sup>40b</sup> τὸν στρατηγὸν παρεκάλουν, ὁπόθεν δὲ οἴχοιτο, τὸν ὑποστρατηγὸν, ὅπου δ' αὖ λοχαγὸς σῶος εἶη, τὸν λοχαγόν. 33. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνήλθον, εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν τῶν ὅπλων<sup>25</sup> ἐκαθέζοντο· καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ συνελθόντες στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκατόν. Ὅτε δὲ ταῦτα ἦν,<sup>52</sup> σχεδὸν μέσαι ἦσαν νύκτες. 34. Ἐνταῦθα Ἰερώνυμος Ἡλείος, πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν Προξένου λοχαγῶν,<sup>21a</sup> ἤρχετο λέγειν ὧδε· “Ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ, ὁρῶσι τὰ παρόντα ἔδοξε καὶ αὐτοῖς<sup>18</sup> συνελθεῖν καὶ ὑμᾶς παρακαλέσαι, ὅπως βουλευσαίμεθα<sup>50</sup> εἴ τι δυναίμεθα ἀγαθόν. Λέξον δ’,” ἔφη, “καὶ σὺ, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἅπερ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς.”

*‘It is for you, officers, to whom your soldiers look up as their superiors, not only in military rank but also in social advantages, to come forward now and take the lead: if you do, your men will follow.’*

35. Ἐκ τούτου λέγει τάδε Ξενοφῶν· “Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι βασιλεὺς καὶ Τισσαφέρνης, οὓς μὲν ἐδυνήθησαν,<sup>48</sup> συνειλήφασιν<sup>48b</sup> ἡμῶν, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις<sup>17</sup> δῆλον ὅτι ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, ὥς, ἢν δύνωνται, ἀπολέσωσιν.<sup>50</sup> Ἡμῖν<sup>17c</sup> δέ γ' οἶμαι πάντα ποιητέα, ὥς μήποτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις γενώμεθα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ἢν δυνώμεθα, ἐκείνοι ἐφ' ἡμῖν. 36. Εὖ τοίνυν ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι ὑμεῖς, τοσοῦτοι ὄντες,<sup>58a</sup> ὅσοι νῦν συνεληλύθατε, μέγιστον ἔχετε καιρόν. Οἱ<sup>6a</sup> γὰρ στρατιῶται οὗτοι πάντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς βλέπουσι, κἂν μὲν ὑμᾶς ὁρῶσιν ἀθύμους, πάντες κακοὶ ἔσονται, ἢν δὲ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ τε παρασκευαζόμενοι<sup>59</sup> φανεροὶ ᾗτε<sup>53b</sup> ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλῆτε, εὖ ἴστε, ὅτι ἔψονται ὑμῖν καὶ πειράσσονται μιμεῖσθαι. 37. Ἴσως δέ τοι καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ὑμᾶς διαφέρειν τι τούτων.<sup>24</sup> Ὑμεῖς γάρ ἐστε στρατηγοὶ, ὑμεῖς ταξίαρχοι καὶ λοχαγοί· καὶ ὅτε εἰρήνη ἦν, ὑμεῖς καὶ χρήμασι καὶ τιμαῖς<sup>19</sup> τούτων<sup>25</sup> ἐπλεονεκτεῖτε· καὶ νῦν τοίνυν, ἐπεὶ πόλεμος ἐστίν, ἀξιοῦν δεῖ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους τε τοῦ πλήθους εἶναι,<sup>29b</sup> καὶ προβουλεύειν τούτων<sup>25</sup> καὶ προπονεῖν, ἢν που δεῖ.

*'First fill up the vacant places of command: then give a word of encouragement to your soldiers, that they may no longer look on the dark side.'*

38. Καὶ νῦν πρῶτον μὲν οἶομαι ἂν ὑμᾶς μέγα ὀνήσαι<sup>55</sup> τὸ στράτευμα, εἰ ἐπιμεληθείητε, ὅπως ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ὡς τάχιστα στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀντικατασταθῶσιν.<sup>56</sup> Ἄνευ γὰρ ἀρχόντων<sup>57</sup> οὐδὲν ἂν οὔτε καλὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν γένοιτο,<sup>54</sup> ὥς μὲν συνελόντι<sup>17,18</sup> εἶπεῖν,<sup>59</sup> οὐδαμοῦ,<sup>64</sup> ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς παντάπασιν. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ εὐταξία σώζειν δοκεῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀταξία πολλοὺς ἤδη ἀπολώλεκεν. 39. Ἐπειδὴν δὲ καταστήσῃσθε<sup>52</sup> τοὺς ἀρχοντας, ὅσους δεῖ, ἦν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας συλλέγητε<sup>53c</sup> καὶ παραθαρσύνητε, οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς πάννυ ἐν καιρῷ ποιῆσαι.<sup>55</sup> 40. Νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἴσως καὶ ὑμεῖς αἰσθάνεσθε, ὡς ἀθύμως μὲν ἦλθον<sup>43b</sup> ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ἀθύμως δὲ πρὸς τὰς φυλακάς· ὥστε οὕτω γ' ἐχόντων<sup>27</sup> οὐκ οἶδα, ὅ τι ἂν τις χρήσαιτο αὐτοῖς,<sup>53c</sup> εἴτε νυκτὸς δέοι τι εἴτε καὶ ἡμέρας.<sup>28</sup> 41. Ἦν δέ τις αὐτῶν στρέψῃ τὰς γνώμας, ὡς μὴ τοῦτο μόνον ἐννοῶνται,<sup>50</sup> τί πείσονται,<sup>45</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ τί ποιήσουσι, πολὺ εὐθυμότεροι ἔσονται.

*'It is not numbers nor physical strength that wins victories, but a high spirit, to which a "shamed life is hateful."'*

42. Ἐπίστασθε γὰρ δὴ, ὅτι οὔτε πλῆθός ἐστιν οὔτε ἰσχὺς ἡ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὰς νίκας ποιοῦσα,<sup>2b</sup> ἀλλ' ὁπότεροι ἂν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐρρωμενέστεροι ἴωσιν<sup>48</sup> ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, τούτους ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οἱ ἐναντίοι οὐ δέχονται. 43. Ἐντεθύμημαι δ' ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι, ὅπόσοι μὲν μαστεύουσι ζῆν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, οὗτοι μὲν κακῶς τε καὶ αἰσχυρῶς ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀποθνήσκουσιν, ὅπόσοι δὲ τὸν μὲν θάνατον ἐγνώκασιν πᾶσι<sup>17</sup> κοινὸν εἶναι<sup>43a</sup> καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνθρώποις, περὶ δὲ τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθνήσκειν ἀγωνίζονται, τούτους ὁρῶ μᾶλλον πως εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀφικνουμένους,<sup>43c</sup> καὶ, ἕως ἂν ζῶσιν,<sup>52c</sup> εὐδαιμονέστερον διάγοντας. 44. Ἄ καὶ ὑμᾶς δεῖ νῦν καταμαθόντας,<sup>58f</sup> ἐν τοιούτῳ γὰρ καιρῷ ἔσμεν, αὐτούς τε ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν." Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο.

*Cheirisophus seconds Xenophon's proposals. New officers chosen.*

45. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον εἶπε Χειρίσοφος· "Ἄλλὰ πρόσθεν μὲν, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, τοσοῦτον<sup>18</sup> μόνον σε ἐγίνωσκον, ὅσον ἤκουον Ἀθηναίων

εἶναι.<sup>48b</sup> νῦν δὲ καὶ ἐπαινῶ σε ἐφ' οἷς λέγεις τε καὶ πράττεις, καὶ βουλοίμην ἂν ὅ τι πλείστους εἶναι τοιούτους· κοινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη<sup>54b</sup> τὸ ἀγαθόν. 46. Καὶ νῦν," ἔφη, "μὴ μέλλωμεν,<sup>54b</sup> ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀλλ' ἀπελθόντες ἤδη αἰρεῖσθε οἱ δεόμενοι ἄρχοντας, καὶ ἐλόμενοι<sup>55b</sup> ἤκετε εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τοὺς αἰρεθέντας ἄγετε· ἔπειτ' ἐκεῖ συγκαλοῦμεν τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας. Παρέστω δ' ἡμῖν," ἔφη, "καὶ Τολμίδης ὁ κήρυξ." 47. Καὶ ἅμα ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀνέστη, ὥς μὴ μέλλοιτο,<sup>56</sup> ἀλλὰ περαίνοιτο τὰ δέοντα. Ἐκ τούτου ἡρέθησαν ἄρχοντες ἀντὶ μὲν Κλεάρχου Τιμασίῳ Δαρδανεύς, ἀντὶ δὲ Σωκράτους Ξανθικλῆς Ἀχαιὸς, ἀντὶ δὲ Ἀγίου Κλεάνωρ Ὀρχομένιος, ἀντὶ δὲ Μένωνος Φιλήσιος Ἀχαιὸς, ἀντὶ δὲ Προξένου Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος.

## CHAPTER II.

*The officers address the soldiers. Cheirisophus points out the need for brave effort to preserve their liberty.*

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρηντο,<sup>57</sup> ἡμέρα τε σχεδὸν ὑπέβαινε, καὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἦκον οἱ ἄρχοντες. Καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς προφύλακας καταστήσαντας<sup>9</sup> συγκαλεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται συνῆλθον, ἀνέστη πρῶτον μὲν Χειρίσοφος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε· 2. "ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, χαλεπὰ μὲν τὰ παρόντα, ὅποτε ἀνδρῶν στρατηγῶν τοιούτων<sup>24</sup> στερόμεθα καὶ λοχαγῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν, πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀριαῖον, οἱ πρόσθεν σύμμαχοι ὄντες, προδεδώκασιν ἡμᾶς. 3. Ὅμως δὲ δεῖ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τε ἐλθεῖν καὶ μὴ<sup>62a</sup> ὑφίεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πειρᾶσθαι, ὅπως, ἣν μὲν δυνώμεθα, καλῶς νικῶντες σωζώμεθα.<sup>50</sup> εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀλλὰ καλῶς γε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, ὑποχείριοι δὲ μηδέποτε γενώμεθα ζῶντες τοῖς πολεμίοις.<sup>16</sup> Οἶομαι γὰρ ἂν ἡμᾶς τοιαῦτα παθεῖν, οἷα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οἱ θεοὶ ποιήσειαν."<sup>40a</sup>

*Cleanor, recounting the treachery of the King and of Tissaphernes, and of Ariaeus, shows them that they must not expose themselves to further deceit, but fight and trust the issue to the gods.*

4. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κλεάνωρ Ὀρχομένιος ἀνέστη καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε·  
"Ἀλλ' ὁρᾶτε μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὴν βασιλέως ἐπιτορκίαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν,

ὁρᾶτε δὲ τὴν Τισσαφέρνους ἀπιστίαν, ὅστις<sup>51</sup> λέγων, ὡς γείτων τε εἶη<sup>48b</sup> τῆς Ἑλλάδος<sup>50</sup> καὶ περὶ πλείστου ἂν ποιήσαιτο<sup>54b</sup> σῶσαι ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸς ὁμόσας<sup>58a</sup> ἡμῖν, αὐτὸς δεξιὰς δούς, αὐτὸς ἐξαπατήσας, συνέλαβε τοὺς στρατηγούς, καὶ οὐδὲ Δία ξένιον ᾔδέσθη, ἀλλὰ Κλεάρχῳ καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος γενόμενος, αὐτοῖς τούτοις<sup>19a</sup> ἐξαπατήσας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπολώλεκεν. 5. Ἀριαῖος δὲ, ὃν ἡμεῖς ἠθέλομεν βασιλέα<sup>12</sup> καθιστάναι, καὶ ἐδώκαμεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν πιστὰ μὴ<sup>62a</sup> προδώσειν ἀλλήλους, καὶ οὗτος οὔτε τοὺς θεοὺς δείσας οὔτε Κῦρον τεθνηκότα αἰδεσθεῖς, τιμώμενος<sup>58a</sup> μάλιστα ὑπὸ Κύρου ζῶντος,<sup>41a</sup> νῦν πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνου ἐχθίστους ἀποστὰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς Κύρου φίλους<sup>3</sup> κακῶς ποιεῖν πειρᾶται. 6. Ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν οἱ θεοὶ ἀποτίσαιντο·<sup>40a</sup> ἡμᾶς δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα ὁρῶντας<sup>58a</sup> μήποτε ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἔτι ὑπὸ τούτων, ἀλλὰ μαχομένους ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα<sup>57</sup> κράτιστα τοῦτο, ὃ τι ἂν δοκῇ<sup>39b</sup> τοῖς θεοῖς, πᾶσχειν.”

*Xenophon points out that with such wrongs to avenge they must have good hope of heaven's favour. The customary 'God save you' in answer to an opportune sneeze suggests that they should at once seek the help of Zeus the Saviour by sacrifice and prayer.*

7. Ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶν ἀνίσταται, ἐσταλμένος<sup>34</sup> ἐπὶ πόλεμον ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα,<sup>57</sup> νομίζων, εἴτε νίκην διδοῖεν οἱ θεοὶ, τὸν κάλλιστον κόσμον τῷ νικᾶν πρέπειν, εἴτε τελευτᾶν δέοι, ὀρθῶς ἔχειν τῶν καλλίστων<sup>25a</sup> ἑαυτὸν ἀξιῶσαντα ἐν τούτοις τῆς τελευτῆς<sup>23</sup> τυγχάνειν· τοῦ λόγου δὲ ἤρχετο ὧδε· 8. “Τὴν μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιτορκίαν τε καὶ ἀπιστίαν λέγει μὲν Κλεάνωρ, ἐπίστασθε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς, οἶμαι. Εἰ μὲν οὖν βουλευόμεθα πάλιν αὐτοῖς<sup>16</sup> διὰ φιλίας ἰέναι, ἀνάγκη ἡμᾶς πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν ἔχειν, ὁρῶντας<sup>58b</sup> καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, οἳ διὰ πίστεως αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν, οἷα πεπόνθασιν· εἰ μέντοι διανοούμεθα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὧν<sup>4a</sup> τε πεποιήκασι δίκην ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διὰ παντὸς πολέμου αὐτοῖς ἰέναι, σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς πολλαὶ ἡμῖν<sup>17b</sup> καὶ καλαὶ ἐλπίδες εἰς σωτηρίαν.” 9. Τοῦτο δὲ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ<sup>27</sup> πτάρνυται τις· ἀκούσαντες<sup>58b</sup> δ' οἱ στρατιῶται πάντες μιᾷ ὁρμῇ προσεκύνησαν τὸν θεόν. Καὶ Ξενοφῶν εἶπε· “Δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ περὶ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν λεγόντων οἰωνὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ σωτήρος ἐφάνη, εὐξασθαι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ θύσειν<sup>43a</sup> σωτήρια, ὅπου ἂν πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν χώραν ἀφικώμεθα,<sup>39b</sup> συνεπεύξασθαι δὲ καὶ

τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς θύσειν κατὰ δύναμιν. Καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτ'," ἔφη, "ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα." Καὶ ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. Ἐκ τούτου εὐξάντο καὶ ἐπαιώνισαν.

*He goes on to give his reasons for thus anticipating success.*

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῶν θεῶν καλῶς εἶχεν, ἤρχετο πάλιν ὧδε·

10. "Ἐτύγχανον λέγων,<sup>59</sup> ὅτι πολλαὶ καὶ καλαὶ ἐλπίδες ἡμῖν εἶεν<sup>43b</sup> σωτηρίας. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐμπεδοῦμεν τοὺς τῶν θεῶν<sup>22</sup> ὅρκους, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐπιωρκήκασί τε καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους λελύκασιν. Οὕτω δ' ἐχόντων<sup>27</sup> εἰκὸς τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἐναντίους εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς, ἡμῖν δὲ συμμάχους, οἵπερ ἱκανοὶ εἰσι καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους ταχὺ μικροὺς ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς, κἂν ἐν δεινοῖς ὦσι,<sup>38</sup> σώζειν εὐπετῶς, ὅταν βούλωνται.

*'What Greeks can do against Persians has been shown at Marathon and at Salamis. Numbers should not terrify you.'*

11. Ἐπειτα δὲ, ἀναμνήσω γὰρ ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων κινδύνους,<sup>13a</sup> ἵνα εἰδῆτε,<sup>50</sup> ὥς ἀγαθοῖς<sup>18</sup> τε ὑμῖν προσήκει εἶναι, σώζονται τε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἐκ πάνυ δεινῶν οἱ ἀγαθοί. Ἐλθόντων μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς παμπληθεὶ στόλῳ<sup>19</sup> ὥς ἀφανιούντων<sup>58a</sup> αὐθις τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑποστήναι αὐτοῖς<sup>16</sup> Ἀθηναῖοι τολμήσαντες ἐνίκησαν αὐτούς. 12. Καὶ εὐξάμενοι<sup>58b</sup> τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ὅπόσους ἂν κατακάνοιεν τῶν πολεμίων, τοσαύτας χιμαῖρας καταθύσειν<sup>43a</sup> τῇ θεῷ, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον<sup>52</sup> ἱκανὰς εὐρεῖν, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πεντακοσίας θύειν, καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποθύουσιν. 13. Ἐπειτα ὅτε Ξέρξης ὕστερον ἀγείρας<sup>58b</sup> τὴν ἀναρίθμητον στρατιὰν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ τότε ἐνίκων οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι τοὺς τούτων προγόνους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. Ὡν ἔστι μὲν τεκμήρια<sup>5b</sup> ὁρᾶν τὰ τρόπαια, μέγιστον δὲ μαρτύριον ἡ ἐλευθερία τῶν πόλεων, ἐν αἷς ὑμεῖς ἐγένεσθε καὶ ἐτράφητε· οὐδένα γὰρ ἄνθρωπον δεσπότην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνεῖτε.

*'You have shown yourselves no degenerate successors to such ancestors while fighting for Cyrus: how much more, when fighting for your own lives, and that no longer against an unknown foe?'*

14. Τοιούτων μὲν ἐστε προγόνων.<sup>24</sup> Οὐ μὲν δὴ τοῦτό γε ἐρῶ, ὥς ὑμεῖς καταισχύνετε αὐτούς· ἀλλ' οὕτω πολλαὶ ἡμέραι, ἀφ'

οὗ<sup>52</sup> ἀντιταξάμενοι τούτοις τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐκγόνοις πολλαπλασίους ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐνικᾶτε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς. 15. Καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ περὶ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας<sup>67</sup> ἄνδρες ἦτε ἀγαθοί· νῦν δ', ὅποτε περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστὶ, πολὺν δὴπου ὑμᾶς προσήκει καὶ ἀμείνονας καὶ προθυμοτέρους εἶναι.<sup>29a</sup> 16. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ θαρραλεωτέρους νῦν πρέπει εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. Τότε μὲν γὰρ ἄπειροι ὄντες αὐτῶν,<sup>22</sup> τό τε πλῆθος ἀμετρον<sup>6b</sup> ὁρῶντες,<sup>58d</sup> ὅμως ἐτολμήσατε σὺν τῷ πατρώῳ φρονήματι ἰέναι εἰς αὐτούς· νῦν δέ, ὅποτε καὶ πείραν ἤδη ἔχετε αὐτῶν, ὅτι θέλουσι καὶ πολλαπλάσιοι ὄντες μὴ δέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς, τί ἔτι ὑμῖν προσήκει τούτους φοβεῖσθαι ;

*'It is true that the rest of Cyrus' troops have deserted us, and that we have no cavalry : but the former were cowards and runaways, and the latter are chiefly serviceable for safety in flight.'*

17. Μηδὲ μέντοι τοῦτο μείον δόξετε<sup>54b, i. 1b</sup> ἔχειν, εἰ οἱ Κυρεῖοι πρόσθεν σὺν ἡμῖν ταττόμενοι<sup>58d</sup> νῦν ἀφροστήκασιν. Ἔτι γὰρ οὗτοι κακίονές εἰσι τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἡττημένων.<sup>25</sup> ἔφευγον γοῦν πρὸς ἐκείνους καταλιπόντες ἡμᾶς. Τοὺς δὲ θέλοντας φυγῆς<sup>25</sup> ἄρχειν πολὺν κρεῖττον σὺν τοῖς πολεμίους ταττομένους ἢ ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ τάξει ὁρᾶν. 18. Εἰ δέ τις αὖ ὑμῶν ἀθυμεῖ, ὅτι ἡμῖν<sup>17b</sup> μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶν ἵππεῖς, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίους πολλοὶ πάρευσιν, ἐνθυμήθητε,<sup>37a, Note</sup> ὅτι οἱ μύριοι ἵππεῖς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ μύριοί εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι· ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ ἵππου ἐν μάχῃ οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτε δηχθεὶς οὔτε λακτισθεὶς ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰσὶν οἱ ποιοῦντες, ὃ τι ἂν ἐν ταῖς μάχαῖς γίγνηται.<sup>39b</sup> 19. Οὐκοῦν τῶν γε ἱππέων<sup>25</sup> πολὺν ἡμεῖς ἐπ' ἀσφαλεστέρου ὀχήματός ἐσμεν ; Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππων κρέμανται, φοβούμενοι οὐχ ἡμᾶς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ καταπεσεῖν.<sup>29a</sup> ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπὶ γῆς βεβηκότες πολὺν μὲν ἰσχυρότερον παίσομεν, ἣν τις προσίῃ,<sup>53b</sup> πολὺν δὲ μᾶλλον, ὅτου ἂν βουλώμεθα, τευξόμεθα. Ἐνὶ μόνῳ<sup>19a</sup> προέχουσιν οἱ ἵππεῖς ἡμᾶς· φεύγειν αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλέστερόν ἐστιν ἢ ἡμῖν.

*'Some of you may say—"It is not the fortune of battle that we are anxious about, but the difficulties of the retreat." But we shall have for guides men whose lives are in our power, we can help ourselves to provisions, and as for rivers to be crossed there is none but is fordable near its source.'*

20. Εἰ δὲ δὴ τὰς μὲν μάχας<sup>14b</sup> θαρρεῖτε, ὅτι δὲ οὐκέτι ὑμῖν Τισσαφέρνης ἡγήσεται, οὐδὲ βασιλεὺς ἀγορὰν παρέξει, τοῦτο



ἄχθεσθε, σκέψασθε, πότερον<sup>40</sup> κρείττον Τισσαφέρνην ἡγεμόνα<sup>12</sup> ἔχειν, ὃς ἐπιβουλεύων<sup>50</sup> ἡμῖν φανερός ἐστίν, ἢ οὓς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἄνδρας λαβόντες ἡγεῖσθαι κελεύωμεν, οἳ εἴσονται, ὅτι, ἦν τι περὶ ἡμᾶς ἁμαρτάνωσι,<sup>38</sup> περὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα ἁμαρτάνουσι. 21. Τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια πότερον ὠνεῖσθαι κρείττον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἥς<sup>42</sup> οὗτοι παρεῖχον, μικρὰ μέτρα πολλοῦ ἀργυρίου,<sup>50a</sup> μηδὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἔχοντας, ἢ αὐτοὺς<sup>9</sup> λαμβάνειν, ἣνπερ κρατῶμεν, μέτρῳ χρωμένους, ὅπόσῳ ἂν ἕκαστος βούληται.<sup>48</sup> 22. Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν γινώσκετε ὅτι κρείττονα, τοὺς δὲ ποταμοὺς ἄπορον<sup>22</sup> νομίζετε εἶναι καὶ μεγάλως ἡγεῖσθε ἐξαπατηθῆναι διαβάντες,<sup>9</sup> σκέψασθε, εἰ ἄρα τοῦτο καὶ μωρότατον<sup>2.5b</sup> πεποιήκασιν οἱ βάρβαροι. Πάντες μὲν γὰρ οἱ ποταμοὶ, ἦν καὶ πρόσω τῶν πηγῶν<sup>24</sup> ἄποροι ὦσι, προϊούσι<sup>17c</sup> πρὸς τὰς πηγὰς διαβατοὶ γίνονται οὐδὲ τὸ γόνυ βρέχοντες.

*'If the worst comes to the worst we are strong enough to form a settlement in the King's territory. I should even have proposed it now, but that I fear the influence of Eastern luxury might make us "forgetful of return."'*

23. Εἰ δὲ μήθ' οἱ ποταμοὶ διήσουσιν, ἡγεμῶν τε μηδεὶς ἡμῖν φανείται, οὐδ' ὥς ἡμῖν<sup>17c</sup> γε ἀθυμητέον. Ἐπιστάμεθα γὰρ Μυσοὺς, οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἡμῶν φαίημεν<sup>54b</sup> βελτίους εἶναι, οἳ βασιλέως ἄκοντος<sup>27</sup> ἐν τῇ βασιλέως χώρα πολλὰς τε καὶ εὐδαίμονας καὶ μεγάλας πόλεις οἰκοῦσιν, ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ Πισίδας ὡσαύτως. Λυκάονας δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ εἶδομεν, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τὰ ἐρυμνὰ καταλαμβάνοντες τὴν τούτων χώραν καρποῦνται. 24. Καὶ ἡμᾶς δ' ἂν ἔφην ἔγωγε χρῆναι μήπω φανεροὺς εἶναι οἴκαδε ὠρμημένους,<sup>59</sup> ἀλλὰ κατασκευάζεσθαι ὥς αὐτοῦ που οἰκήσοντας.<sup>50a</sup> Οἶδα γὰρ, ὅτι καὶ Μυσοῖς βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας ἂν δοίη,<sup>54b</sup> πολλοὺς δ' ἂν ὁμήρους τοῦ ἀδόλως ἐκπέμψειν,<sup>22</sup> καὶ ὁδοποιήσειέ γ' ἂν αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἰ σὺν τεθρίπποις βούλονται ἀπιέναι. Καὶ ἡμῖν γ' ἂν οἶδ' ὅτι τρισάσμενος ταῦτ' ἐποίει,<sup>54d</sup> εἰ ἑώρα ἡμᾶς μένειν παρασκευαζομένους. 25. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ δέδοικα, μὴ, ἂν ἅπαξ μάθωμεν ἄργοι<sup>9</sup> ζῆν καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις βιοτεύειν, καὶ Μήδων δὲ καὶ Περσῶν καλαῖς καὶ μεγίσταις γυναιξὶ καὶ παρθένοις ὁμιλεῖν, μὴ ὥσπερ οἱ λωτοφάγοι ἐπιλαθώμεθα<sup>43d</sup> τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ. 26. Δοκεῖ οὖν μοι εἰκὸς καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους πειρᾶσθαι ἀφικνεῖσθαι καὶ ἐπιδείξαι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ὅτι ἐκόντες πένονται, ἐξὸν<sup>61</sup> αὐτοῖς τοὺς νῦν οἴκοι ἀκλήρους πολιτεύ-

οντας<sup>8</sup> ἐνθάδε κομισαμένους πλουσίους ὁρᾶν. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, πάντα ταῦτα τάγαθὰ δῆλον ὅτι τῶν κρατούντων<sup>21</sup> ἐστί.

*'It remains to make provision for the march. First—it were well to get rid of our waggon and of all superfluous baggage, that we may not have needlessly to choose our road.'*

27. Τοῦτο δὴ δεῖ λέγειν, πῶς ἂν πορευοίμεθά τε ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα, καὶ εἰ μάχεσθαι δέοι, ὡς κράτιστα μαχοίμεθα.<sup>53c</sup> Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν," ἔφη, "δοκεῖ μοι κατακαῦσαι τὰς ἀμάξας, ὥς ἔχομεν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ ζεύγη ἡμῶν<sup>25</sup> στρατηγῇ,<sup>50</sup> ἀλλὰ πορευώμεθα, ὅπη ἂν τῇ στρατιᾷ<sup>17</sup> συμφέρῃ· ἔπειτα καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς συγκατακαῦσαι. Αὗται γὰρ αὖ ὄχλον μὲν παρέχουσιν ἄγειν,<sup>29d</sup> συνωφελοῦσι δ' οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰς τὸ μάχεσθαι, οὔτ' εἰς τὸ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν.<sup>30</sup>

28. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σκευῶν τὰ περισσὰ ἀπαλλάξωμεν, πλὴν ὅσα πολέμου<sup>67</sup> ἕνεκεν ἢ σίτων ἢ ποτῶν ἔχομεν, ἵνα ὡς πλείστοι μὲν ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ᾤσιν,<sup>37a</sup> ὡς ἐλάχιστοι δὲ σκευοφορῶσι. Κρατουμένων<sup>58c</sup> μὲν γὰρ ἐπίστασθε ὅτι πάντα ἀλλότρια· ἦν δὲ κρατῶμεν, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους δεῖ σκευοφόρους ἡμετέρους<sup>12</sup> νομίζειν.

*'But the most important thing is that every man shall do his utmost to maintain discipline and support the authority of the officers, and that the officers shall do their duty more vigorously; so the Persians will reckon without their host, in thinking that the loss of our leaders will make us disorderly and feeble.'*

29. Λοιπὸν μοι εἰπεῖν, ὅπερ καὶ μέγιστον νομίζω εἶναι. Ὅρατε γὰρ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅτι οὐ πρόσθεν ἐξενεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πόλεμον, πρὶν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἡμῶν συνέλαβον,<sup>52a</sup> νομίζοντες, ὄντων μὲν τῶν ἀρχόντων<sup>58b</sup> καὶ ἡμῶν πειθομένων, ἱκανοὺς εἶναι ἡμᾶς περιγενέσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ· λαβόντες<sup>9</sup> δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀναρχία ἂν καὶ ἀταξία<sup>19a</sup> ἐνόμιζον ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσθαι. 30. Δεῖ οὖν πολὺ μὲν τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπιμελεστέρους γενέσθαι τοὺς νῦν τῶν πρόσθεν,<sup>25</sup> πολὺ δὲ τοὺς ἀρχομένους εὐτακτοτέρους καὶ πειθομένους μᾶλλον τοῖς ἀρχουσι<sup>16</sup> νῦν ἢ πρόσθεν. 31. Ἦν δέ τις ἀπειθῇ, ἣν ψηφίσθησθε τὸν αἰὲς ὑμῶν ἐντυγχάνοντα σὺν τῷ ἀρχοντι κολάζειν, οὕτως οἱ πολέμιοι πλείστον ἐψευσμένοι ἔσονται.<sup>53b</sup> τῇδε γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μυρίους ὄψονται ἀνθ' ἐνὸς Κλεάρχους τοὺς οὐδ' ἐνὶ ἐπιτρέψοντα κακῷ<sup>18</sup> εἶναι. 32. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περαίνειν ἤδη ὥρα· ἴσως γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι αὐτίκα παρέσονται. Ὅτῳ οὖν ταῦτα δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐπικυρωσάτω ὡς τάχιστα, ἵνα

ἔργῳ περαίνηται.<sup>50</sup> Εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο βέλτιον ἢ ταύτη, τολμάτω καὶ ὁ ἰδιώτης διδάσκειν· πάντες γὰρ κοινῆς σωτηρίας<sup>26a</sup> δεόμεθα.”

*Cheirisophus supports Xenophon's proposals, which are carried. Xenophon makes arrangements for the order of the march, and dismisses the assembly with a final exhortation to bravery.*

33. Μετὰ ταῦτα Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν· “Ἄλλ’ εἰ μὲν τινος ἄλλου δεῖ πρὸς τούτοις οἷς<sup>4a</sup> λέγει Ξενοφῶν, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐξέσται ποιεῖν· ἃ δὲ νῦν εἴρηκε, δοκεῖ μοι ὡς τάχιστα ψηφίσασθαι<sup>29a</sup> ἄριστον εἶναι· καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα.” Ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. 34. Ἀναστὰς δὲ πάλιν εἶπε Ξενοφῶν· “ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀκούσατε ὧν<sup>26a</sup> προσδεῖν δοκεῖ μοι. Δῆλον, ὅτι πορεύεσθαι ἡμᾶς δεῖ, ὅπου ἔξομεν<sup>49b</sup> τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ἀκούω δὲ κώμας εἶναι καλὰς οὐ πλείον ἐῖκοσι σταδίων ἀπεχούσας. 35. Οὐκ ἂν οὖν θαυμάζοιμεν, εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὥσπερ οἱ δειλοὶ κύνες τοὺς μὲν παριόντας<sup>58c</sup> διώκουσί τε καὶ δάκνουσιν, ἣν δύνωνται, τοὺς δὲ διώκοντας φεύγουσιν, εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡμῖν ἀπιούσιν ἐπακολουθοῖεν.<sup>53c</sup> 36. Ἴσως οὖν ἀσφαλέστερον ἡμῖν πορεύεσθαι πλαίσιον ποιησαμένους<sup>9</sup> τῶν ὅπλων, ἵνα τὰ σκευοφόρα καὶ ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ ᾧ.<sup>50</sup> Εἰ οὖν νῦν ἀποδειχθείη, τίνα χρὴ ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ πλαισίου<sup>25</sup> καὶ τὰ πρόσθεν κοσμεῖν, καὶ τίνας ἐπὶ τῶν πλευρῶν ἑκατέρων εἶναι, τίνας δ’ ὀπισθοφυλακεῖν, οὐκ ἂν, ὅποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἔλθοιεν,<sup>40b</sup> βουλευέσθαι ἡμᾶς δέοι, ἀλλὰ<sup>3</sup> χρώμεθ’ ἂν εὐθὺς τοῖς τεταγμένοις. 37. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλος τις βέλτιον ὁρᾷ, ἄλλως ἐχέτω· εἰ δὲ μὴ, Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἡγεῖσθω, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιός ἐστι· τῶν δὲ πλευρῶν<sup>28</sup> ἑκατέρων δύο τῶν πρεσβυτάτων στρατηγῶ ἐπιμελείσθων· ὀπισθοφυλακῶμεν δ’ ἡμεῖς οἱ νεώτεροι, ἐγώ τε καὶ Τιμασίων, τὸ νῦν εἶναι.<sup>29c</sup> 38. Τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν, πειρώμενοι ταύτης<sup>23</sup> τῆς τάξεως, βουλευσόμεθα, ὃ τι ἂν αἰεὶ κράτιστον δοκῇ εἶναι. Εἰ δέ τις ἄλλο ὁρᾷ βέλτιον, λεξάτω.” Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντέλεγεν, εἶπεν· “Ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα.” Ἔδοξε ταῦτα. 39. “Νῦν τοίνυν,” ἔφη, “ἀπιόντας ποιεῖν δεῖ τὰ δεδογμένα. Καὶ ὅστις τε ὑμῶν τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπιθυμεῖ ἰδεῖν, μεμνήσθω ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλως τούτου<sup>23</sup> τυχεῖν· ὅστις τε ζῆν ἐπιθυμεῖ, πειράσθω νικᾶν· τῶν μὲν γὰρ νικῶντων<sup>21</sup> τὸ κατακαίνειν, τῶν δὲ ἡττωμένων τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐστί· καὶ εἴ τις δὲ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμεῖ, κρατεῖν πειράσθω· τῶν γὰρ νικῶντων ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν σώζειν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡττωμένων λαμβάνειν.”

## CHAPTER III.

*The Greeks dispose of their superfluous baggage. Mithridates comes and offers to join them if they will tell him their plans. At first they fall into the trap.*

1. Τούτων λεχθέντων<sup>27</sup> ἀνέστησαν, καὶ ἀπελθόντες κατέκαιον τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὰς σκηνάς· τῶν δὲ περιττῶν,<sup>21a</sup> ὅτου<sup>26a</sup> μὲν δέοιτό τις μετεδίδosan ἀλλήλοις, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐρρίπτουν. Ταῦτα ποιήσαντες<sup>58b</sup> ἡρυστοποιοῦντο. Ἀρυστοποιοιμένων δὲ αὐτῶν, ἔρχεται Μιθριδάτης σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ὡς τριάκοντα, καὶ καλεσάμενος τοὺς στρατηγούς εἰς ἐπήκοον λέγει ὧδε· 2. “Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, καὶ Κύρῳ πιστὸς ἦν, ὡς ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε,<sup>57</sup> καὶ νῦν ὑμῖν<sup>16</sup> εὖνους· καὶ ἐνθάδε δ’ εἰμὶ σὺν πολλῷ φόβῳ διάγων. Εἰ οὖν ὁρώην<sup>58c</sup> ὑμᾶς σωτήριόν τι βουλευομένους,<sup>43c</sup> ἔλθοιμι ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας πάντας ἔχων. Λέξατε οὖν πρὸς με τί ἐν νῷ ἔχετε<sup>45</sup> ὡς φίλον τε καὶ εὖνουν καὶ βυλόμενον κοινῇ σὺν ὑμῖν τὸν στόλον ποιεῖσθαι.” 3. Βουλευομένοις τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀποκρίνασθαι τάδε· καὶ ἔλεγε Χειρίσοφος· “Ἡμῖν δοκεῖ, εἰ μὲν τις ἐᾷ ἡμᾶς ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε, διαπορεύεσθαι τὴν χώραν ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα ἀσινέστατα·<sup>57, 39b</sup> ἦν δέ τις ἡμᾶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀποκωλύη, διαπολεμεῖν τούτῳ ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κράτιστα.”

*But finding that he is an emissary of the enemy, they decide that they will receive no heralds in a hostile country.*

4. Ἐκ τούτου ἐπειράτο Μιθριδάτης διδάσκειν, ὡς ἄπορον εἶη<sup>43b</sup> βασιλέως ἄκοντος<sup>27</sup> σωθῆναι. Ἐνθα δὲ ἐγιγνώσκετο, ὅτι ὑπόπεμπτος εἶη· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Τισσαφέρνους τις οἰκείων παρηκολούθει πίστει<sup>57</sup> ἕνεκα. 5. Καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐδόκει τοῖς στρατηγοῖς βέλτιον εἶναι δόγμα ποιήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον εἶναι,<sup>44</sup> ἔστ’ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ εἶεν·<sup>52</sup> διέφθειρον<sup>32</sup> γὰρ προσιώντες τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ ἓνα γε λοχαγὸν διέφθειραν,<sup>33</sup> Νίκαρχον Ἀρκάδα, καὶ ὥχετο ἀπιὼν νυκτὸς<sup>28</sup> σὺν ἀνθρώποις ὡς εἴκοσι.

*Mithridates reappears after they have crossed the Zab, and attacks their rear. The Greeks give chase, but in vain: the want of cavalry and light artillery prevents them from doing any damage.*

6. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀριστήσαντες καὶ διαβάντες τὸν Ζαπάταν ποταμὸν ἐπορεύοντο τεταγμένοι,<sup>58f</sup> τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν

μέσῳ ἔχοντες. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ προεληλυθόντων αὐτῶν,<sup>27</sup> ἐπιφαίνεται πάλιν ὁ Μιθριδάτης, ἱππέας ἔχων ὡς διακοσίους καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας εἰς τετρακοσίους μάλα ἐλαφροὺς καὶ εὐζώνους. 7. Καὶ προσήει μὲν ὡς φίλος ὢν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο, ἐξαπίνης οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν<sup>21a</sup> ἐτόξευον καὶ ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοὶ, οἱ δ' ἐσφενδόνων καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον. Οἱ δὲ ὀπισθοφύλακες τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπασχον μὲν κακῶς, ἀντεποιοῦν δ' οὐδέν· οἳ τε γὰρ Κρήτες βραχύτερα τῶν Περσῶν ἐτόξευον καὶ ἅμα ψιλοὶ ὄντες εἴσω τῶν ὅπλων<sup>25</sup> κατεκέκληντο, οἳ τε ἀκοντισταὶ βραχύτερα ἠκόντιζον ἢ ὡς<sup>49, 06s.</sup> ἐξικνεῖσθαι τῶν σφενδονητῶν. 8. Ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶντι ἐδόκει διωκτέον<sup>21b</sup> εἶναι· καὶ ἐδίωκον τῶν τε ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν<sup>21a</sup> οἱ ἔτυχον σὺν αὐτῷ ὀπισθοφυλακοῦντες.<sup>59</sup> διώκοντες δὲ οὐδένα κατελάμβανον τῶν πολεμίων. 9. Οὔτε γὰρ ἱππεῖς ἦσαν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν,<sup>17b</sup> οὔτε οἱ πεζοὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐκ πολλοῦ φεύγοντας<sup>58a</sup> ἐδύναντο καταλαμβάνειν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χωρίῳ· πολὺ<sup>10</sup> γὰρ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατεύματος διώκειν. 10. Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἱππεῖς καὶ φεύγοντες ἅμα ἐτίτρωσκον εἰς τοῦπισθεν τοξεύοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων· ὅπόσον δὲ προδιώξειαν<sup>40b</sup> οἱ Ἑλληνες, τοσοῦτον πάλιν ἐπαναχωρεῖν μαχομένους ἔδει. 11. Ὡστε τῆς ἡμέρας ὅλης<sup>28</sup> διῆλθον οὐ πλέον πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων, ἀλλὰ δείλης ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας. Ἐνθα δὴ πάλιν ἀθυμία ἦν.

*Xenophon being blamed for his indiscretion in ordering this sally pleads guilty, and points out that if they are to be subjected to such attacks they must provide themselves with slingers and horsemen.*

Καὶ Χειρίσοφος καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν στρατηγῶν Ξενοφῶντα ᾔτιῳντο, ὅτι<sup>51</sup> ἐδίωκεν ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος, καὶ αὐτός τε ἐκινδύνευε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδύνατο βλάπτειν. 12. Ἀκούσας δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ὀρθῶς ᾔτιῳντο,<sup>47</sup> καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς μαρτυροίη. “Ἄλλ’ ἐγὼ,” ἔφη, “ἠναγκάσθην διώκειν, ἐπειδὴ ἐώρων ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ μένειν κακῶς μὲν πάσχοντας,<sup>48c</sup> ἀντιποιεῖν δὲ οὐ δυναμένους. 13. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδίωκομεν,<sup>52</sup> ἀληθῆ,” ἔφη, “ὑμεῖς λέγετε· κακῶς μὲν γὰρ ποιεῖν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδυνάμεθα τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀνεχωροῦμεν δὲ πάνυ χαλεπῶς. 14. Τοῖς οὖν θεοῖς χάρις, ὅτι οὐ σὺν πολλῇ ῥώμῃ, ἀλλὰ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἦλθον, ὥστε βλάψαι μὲν μὴ μεγάλα,<sup>49a</sup> δηλῶσαι δὲ ὧν<sup>26a</sup> δεόμεθα. 15. Νῦν γὰρ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι τοξεύουσι καὶ σφενδονῶσιν, ὅσον<sup>48</sup>

οὔτε οἱ Κρήτες ἀντιτοξεύειν δύνανται, οὔτε οἱ ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλοντες<sup>9</sup> ἐξικνεῖσθαι· ὅταν δὲ αὐτοὺς διώκωμεν, πολὺ μὲν οὐχ οἶόν τε χωρίον<sup>14a</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος διώκειν, ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ, οὐδ' εἰ ταχὺς εἴη,<sup>15c</sup> πεζὸς πεζὸν ἂν διώκων καταλάβοι ἐκ τόξου ῥύματος. 16. Ἡμεῖς οὖν εἰ μέλλομεν τούτους εἶργειν, ὥστε μὴ<sup>16a</sup> δύνασθαι βλάπτειν ἡμᾶς πορευομένους, σφενδονητῶν τε τὴν ταχίστην δεῖ καὶ ἱππέων.

*He shows how this arm may be supplied.*

Ἀκούω δ' εἶναι<sup>18a</sup> ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι ἡμῶν Ῥοδίους, ὧν τοὺς πολλοὺς φασιν ἐπίστασθαι σφενδονᾶν, καὶ τὸ βέλος αὐτῶν καὶ διπλάσιον φέρεσθαι τῶν Περσικῶν σφενδονῶν.<sup>25</sup> 17. Ἐκεῖναι γὰρ διὰ τὸ χειροπληθέσι τοῖς<sup>17b</sup> λίθοις σφενδονᾶν ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἐξικνοῦνται, οἱ δέ γε Ῥόδιοι καὶ ταῖς μολιβδίσι<sup>19a</sup> ἐπίστανται χρῆσθαι. 18. Ἦν οὖν αὐτῶν ἐπισκεψώμεθα τίνες<sup>18b</sup> πέπανται σφενδόνας, καὶ τούτῳ μὲν δώμεν αὐτῶν<sup>21a</sup> ἀργύριον, τῷ δὲ ἄλλας πλέκειν ἐθέλοντι<sup>8</sup> ἄλλο ἀργύριον τελῶμεν, καὶ τῷ σφενδονᾶν ἐν τῷ ἐντεταγμένῳ ἐθέλοντι ἄλλην τινὰ ἀτέλειαν εὐρίσκωμεν, ἵσως τινὲς φανοῦνται ἱκανοὶ ἡμᾶς ὠφελεῖν. 19. Ὅρῳ δὲ ἵππους ὄντας<sup>19c</sup> ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς παρ' ἐμοὶ, τοὺς δὲ τῷ Κλεάρχῳ<sup>17c</sup> καταλελειμμένους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους σκευοφοροῦντας. Ἄν οὖν τούτους πάντας ἐκλέξαντες σκευοφόρα μὲν ἀντιδῶμεν, τοὺς δὲ ἵππους εἰς ἱππέας κατασκευάσωμεν, ἵσως καὶ οὕτοί τι<sup>13</sup> τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀνιάσουσιν." Ἔδοξε καὶ ταῦτα. 20. Καὶ ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς<sup>28</sup> σφενδονῆται μὲν εἰς διακοσίους ἐγένοντο, ἵπποι δὲ καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐδοκιμάσθησαν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ<sup>19c</sup> εἰς πεντήκοντα, καὶ σπολάδες καὶ θώρακες αὐτοῖς ἐπορίσθησαν, καὶ ἱππαρχος ἐπεστάθη Λύκιος ὁ Πολυτράτου, Ἀθηναῖος.

## CHAPTER IV.

*On the following day Mithridates follows them with a greater force, expecting an easy victory; but by Xenophon's preparations he is balked, and falls back with some loss.*

1. Μείναντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν<sup>14a</sup> τῇ ἄλλῃ<sup>19c</sup> ἐπορεύοντο πρωῒτερον ἀναστάντες· χαράδραν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔδει διαβῆναι, ἐφ' ᾗ ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ ἐπιθοῖντο αὐτοῖς<sup>16</sup> διαβαίνουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι.

2. Διαβεβηκόσι δὲ αὐτοῖς πάλιν φαίνεται Μιθριδάτης, ἔχων ἱππέας χιλίους, τοξότας δὲ καὶ σφενδονήτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους· τοσοῦτους γὰρ ᾗτησε Τιτσαφέρνην,<sup>13a</sup> καὶ ἔλαβεν ὑποσχόμενος, ἂν τούτους λάβῃ,<sup>53b</sup> παραδώσειν<sup>43a</sup> αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἑλληνας, καταφρονήσας, ὅτι ἐν τῇ πρόσθεν προσβολῇ ὀλίγους ἔχων ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδὲν, πολλὰ δὲ κακὰ ἐνόμιζε ποιῆσαι. 3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες διαβεβηκότες<sup>53b</sup> ἀπείχον τῆς χαράδρας<sup>24</sup> ὅσον ὀκτὼ σταδίους,<sup>14a</sup> διέβαινε καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν. Παρήγγελτο δὲ τῶν τε πελταστῶν<sup>21a</sup> οὓς ἔδει διώκειν καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν εἶρητο θαρροῦσι<sup>18</sup> διώκειν, ὥς ἐφευγομένης ἱκανῆς δυνάμεως.<sup>27</sup> 4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Μιθριδάτης κατειλήφει, καὶ ἤδη σφενδόναι καὶ τοξεύματα ἐξικνούντο, ἐσήμηνε τοῖς Ἕλλησι τῇ σάλπιγγι.<sup>19a</sup> καὶ εὐθὺς ἔθεον ὁμόσε οἷς εἶρητα καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἤλαυνον· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ἐφευχον ἐπὶ τὴν χαράδραν. 5. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διώξει τοῖς βαρβάροις<sup>17</sup> τῶν τε πεζῶν ἀπέθανον πολλοὶ, καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐν τῇ χαράδρᾳ ζωὸι ἐλήφθησαν εἰς ὀκτωκαίδεκα. Τοὺς δὲ ἀποθανόντας αὐτοκέλευστοι οἱ Ἕλληνες ᾗκίσαντα, ὥς ὁ τι φοβερώτατον τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶη<sup>50</sup> ὁρᾶν.<sup>29c</sup>

*The Greeks return to the bank of the Tigris, and pass two deserted cities (on the site of ancient Nineveh).*

6. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι οὕτω πράξαντες ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀσφαλῶς πορευόμενοι<sup>53b</sup> τὸ λοιπὸν<sup>14a</sup> τῆς ἡμέρας ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν. 7. Ἐνταῦθα πόλις ἦν ἐρήμη μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ<sup>17</sup> ἦν Λάρισσα· ᾧκουν δ' αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν Μῆδοι. Τοῦ δὲ τείχους ἦν αὐτῆς τὸ εὖρος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πόδες, ὕψος δ' ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίοδος δύο παρασάγγαι· ᾧκοδόμητο δὲ πλίνθοις κεραμίαις· κρηπὶς δ' ὑπὲρ λιθίνῃ τὸ ὕψος<sup>14b</sup> εἴκοσι ποδῶν. 8. Ταύτην βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν, ὅτε παρὰ Μήδων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανον<sup>52</sup> Πέρσαι, πολιορκῶν<sup>53a</sup> οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐδύνατο ἐλεῖν· ἥλιον δὲ νεφέλη προκαλύψασα ἠφάνισε, μέχρις ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ οὕτως ἔάλω. 9. Παρὰ ταύτην τὴν πάλιν ἦν πυραμὶς λιθίκη, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ἐνὸς πλέθρου<sup>25a</sup> τὸ δὲ ὕψος δύο πλέθρων. Ἐπὶ ταύτης πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν πλησίον κωμῶν ἀποπεφευγότες. 10. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἓνα, παρασάγγας ἕξ, πρὸς τεῖχος ἔρημον μέγα, πρὸς τῇ πόλει κείμενον· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῇ πόλει<sup>17</sup>

Μέσπιλα· Μῆδοι δ' αὐτήν ποτε ᾤκουν. Ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν κρηπὶς λίθου ξεστοῦ κογχυλιάτου,<sup>28</sup> τὸ εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν καὶ τὸ ὕψος πεντήκοντα. 11. Ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτῃ ἐπφκοδόμητο πλίνθινον τεῖχος, τὸ μὲν εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίοδος ἕξ παρασάγγαι. Ἐνταῦθα ἐλέγετο Μήδεια, γυνὴ βασιλέως, καταφυγεῖν, ὅτε ἀπώλλυσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μῆδοι. 12. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολιορκῶν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο οὔτε χρόνῳ ἐλεῖν οὔτε βίᾳ· Ζεὺς δ' ἐμβροντήτους ποιεῖ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω.

*Tissaphernes appears with a large force, but the Rhodian slingers are able to keep them out of shot. How the Greeks got their bows.*

13. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἓνα, παρασάγγας τέτταρας. Εἰς τοῦτον δὲ τὸν σταθμὸν Τισσαφέρνης ἐπεφάνη, οὓς τε αὐτὸς ἱππέας ἦλθεν ἔχων καὶ τὴν Ὀρόντου δύναμιν τοῦ τὴν βασιλέως θυγατέρα ἔχοντος,<sup>51</sup> καὶ οὓς Κῦρος ἔχων ἀνέβη βαρβάρους, καὶ οὓς ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφὸς ἔχων βασιλεῖ ἐβοήθει, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὅσους βασιλεὺς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ, ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πάμπολυ ἐφάνη.<sup>49</sup> 14. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο, τὰς μὲν τῶν τάξεων<sup>21</sup> εἶχεν ὅπισθεν καταστήσας, τὰς δὲ εἰς τὰ πλάγια παραγαγὼν ἐμβάλλειν μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν, οὐδ' ἐβούλετο διακινδυνεύειν, σφενδονᾶν<sup>44</sup> δὲ παρήγγειλε καὶ τοξεύειν. 15. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διαταχθέντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι ἐσφενδόνησαν,<sup>52</sup> καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι τοξόται ἐτόξευσαν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἡμάρτανεν ἀνδρὸς, οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάνυ προὔθυμειτο<sup>53</sup> ῥάδιον ἦν, καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης μάλα ταχέως ἔξω βελῶν<sup>25</sup> ἀπεχώρει καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τάξεις ἀπεχώρησαν. 16. Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο, οἱ δ' εἶποντο· καὶ οὐκέτι ἐσίνοντο οἱ βάρβαροι τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει.<sup>19</sup> μακρότερον<sup>14</sup> γὰρ οἱ τε Ῥόδιοι τῶν Περσῶν ἐσφενδόνων καὶ τῶν πλείστων τοξοτῶν. 17. Μεγάλα δὲ καὶ τὰ τόξα τὰ Περσικά<sup>5</sup> ἐστίν· ὥστε χρήσιμα ἦν<sup>49</sup> ὅποσα ἀλίσκοιτο<sup>40</sup> τῶν τοξευμάτων τοῖς Κρησί· καὶ διετέλουν χρώμενοι<sup>59</sup> τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων τοξεύμασι, καὶ ἐμελέτων τοξεύειν<sup>29</sup> ἄνω ἰέντες μακράν. Εὗρίσκετο δὲ καὶ νεῦρα πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ μόλιβδος, ὥστε χρῆσθαι εἰς τὰς σφενδόνας.

*Alteration of the arrangement of the army on the march. To obviate the difficulties of a uniform square six companies are appointed whose place is movable.*

18. Καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ,<sup>19</sup> ἐπεὶ κατεστρατοπεδεύοντο



οἱ Ἕλληνες κώμαις<sup>18</sup> ἐπιτυχόντες, ἀπῆλθον οἱ βάρβαροι μείον ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει· τὴν δ' ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν<sup>14a</sup> ἔμειναν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο· ἦν γὰρ πολὺς σῖτος ἐν ταῖς κώμαις. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, καὶ Τιωσαφέρνης εἶπετο<sup>22</sup> ἀκροβολιζόμενος. 19. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔγνωσαν,<sup>23</sup> ὅτι πλαίσιον ἰσόπλευρον πονηρὰ τάξις εἶη,<sup>43b</sup> πολεμίων ἐπομένων.<sup>27</sup> Ἀνάγκη γάρ ἐστιν, ἣν μὲν συγκύπτῃ<sup>53b</sup> τὰ κέρατα τοῦ πλαισίου, ἣ ὁδοῦ στενωτέρας οὔσης ἢ ὁρέων ἀναγκαζόντων ἢ γεφύρας, ἐκθλίβεσθαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ πορεύεσθαι πονήρως, ἅμα μὲν πιεζομένους,<sup>56a</sup> ἅμα δὲ καὶ ταραττομένους· ὥστε δυσχρήστους εἶναι<sup>29b</sup> ἀνάγκη ἀτάκτους ὄντας.<sup>9</sup> 20. Ὄταν δ' αὖ διασχῇ τὰ κέρατα, ἀνάγκη διασπᾶσθαι τοὺς τότε ἐκθλιβομένους καὶ κενὸν γίνεσθαι τὸ<sup>5a</sup> μέσον τῶν κεράτων, καὶ ἀθυμεῖν τοὺς ταῦτα πᾶσχοντας, τῶν πολεμίων ἐπομένων. Καὶ ὁπότε δέοι<sup>40b</sup> γέφυραν διαβαίνειν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ διάβασιν,<sup>13</sup> ἔσπευδεν ἕκαστος βουλόμενος φθάσαι πρῶτος· καὶ εὐεπίθετον ἦν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς πολεμίοις.<sup>17c</sup> 21. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ, ἐποίησαν ἕξ λόχους ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπέστησαν καὶ ἄλλους πεντηκοντῆρας καὶ ἄλλους ἐνωμοτάρχας. Οὗτοι δὲ πορευόμενοι [οἱ λοχαγοὶ], ὁπότε μὲν συγκύπτοι τὰ κέρατα, ὑπέμενον ὑστεροί, ὥστε μὴ<sup>62</sup> ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς κέρασι, τότε δὲ παρῆγον ἔξωθεν τῶν κεράτων.<sup>25</sup> 22. Ὅποτε δὲ διάσχοιεν<sup>52</sup> αἱ πλευραὶ τοῦ πλαισίου, τὸ μέσον ἀνεξεπὶμπλάσαν, εἰ μὲν στενωτέρον εἶη<sup>40b</sup> τὸ διέχον, κατὰ λόχους, εἰ δὲ πλατύτερον, κατὰ πεντηκοστῆς, εἰ δὲ πάνυ πλατὺ, κατ' ἐνωμοτίας· ὥστε αἰεὶ ἐκπλεων εἶναι<sup>40a</sup> τὸ μέσον. 23. Εἰ δὲ καὶ διαβαίνειν τινὰ δέοι διάβασιν ἢ γέφυραν, οὐκ ἐταράττοντο, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μέρει οἱ λοχαγοὶ διέβαινον· καὶ εἴ που δέοι τι τῆς φάλαγγος,<sup>21a</sup> ἐπιπαρήσαν οὗτοι. Τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας.

*After some days' march the Greeks welcome the sight of more hilly ground, thinking that it will be a protection from the enemy's horse ; but they find the heights occupied by the enemy, who easily assail them from this vantage ground.*

24. Ἡνίκα δὲ τὸν πέμπτον<sup>10</sup> ἐπορεύοντο, εἶδον βασίλειόν τι καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ κώμας πολλὰς, τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν πρὸς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο διὰ γηλόφων ὑψηλῶν γιγνομένην,<sup>43c</sup> οἱ καθῆκον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους,

ὕψ' ᾧ ἦν ἡ κώμη. Καὶ εἶδον μὲν τοὺς γηλόφους ἄσμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὡς εἰκὸς, τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων ἱππέων.<sup>27</sup> 25. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον γήλοφον καὶ κατέβαινον, ὡς<sup>40a, Obs.</sup> ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀναβαίνειν, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιγίγνονται<sup>32a</sup> οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ εἰς τὸ πρηνὲς ἔβαλλον, ἐσφενδόγων, ἐτόξευον ὑπὸ μαστίγων. 26. καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτίτρωσκον<sup>32</sup> καὶ ἐκράτησαν<sup>33</sup> τῶν Ἑλλήνων γυμνήτων καὶ κατέκλεισαν αὐτοὺς εἴσω τῶν ὅπλων.<sup>25</sup> ὥστε παντάπασι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἄχρηστοι ἦσαν<sup>40a</sup> ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ὄντες καὶ οἱ σφενδονῆται καὶ οἱ τοξόται. 27. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεχείρησαν διώκειν, σχολῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀφικνοῦνται ὀπλίται ὄντες, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ταχὺ ἀπεπήδων.

*To meet the difficulty they send some light-armed troops higher up to threaten the enemy's rear ; and moving thus in parallel lines, they are saved from attack.*

28. Πάλιν ὁπότε ἀπίοιεν<sup>40b</sup> πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, ταῦτα ἔπασχον· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δευτέρου γηλόφου ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου γηλόφου ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς μὴ<sup>62a</sup> κινεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας, πρὶν ἀπὸ τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς τοῦ πλαισίου ἀνήγαγον<sup>52a</sup> πελταστὰς πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. 29. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοι ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπομένων πολεμίων, οὐκέτι ἐπετίθεντο οἱ πολέμιοι τοῖς καταβαίνουσι,<sup>16</sup> δεδοικότες, μὴ ἀποτμηθείησαν<sup>43d</sup> καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτῶν<sup>25</sup> γένοιντο οἱ πολέμιοι. 30. Οὕτω τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας πορευόμενοι, οἱ μὲν τῇ ὁδῷ κατὰ τοὺς γηλόφους, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ὄρος ἐπιπαριόντες, ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας, καὶ ἱατροὺς κατέστησαν ὀκτῶ· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ τετρωμένοι.

*After a three days' halt, they descend again into the plain, where (having a great number of wounded) they are obliged to form an entrenched camp. Persian dread of a night encounter.*

31. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς<sup>14a</sup> καὶ τῶν τετρωμένων<sup>67</sup> ἕνεκα καὶ ἅμα ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ εἶχον, ἄλευρα, οἶνον, καὶ κριθὰς ἵπποις<sup>17</sup> συμβεβλημένας πολλάς. Ταῦτα δὲ συνενηνεγμένα ἦν τῷ σατραπεύοντι<sup>17c</sup> τῆς χώρας. Τετάρτῃ δ' ἡμέρᾳ<sup>19a</sup> καταβαίνουσιν εἰς τὸ πεδίον. 32. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς Τισσαφέρνης σὺν τῇ δυνάμει, ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς ἡ ἀνάγκη κατασκηνῆσαι<sup>44</sup> οὐδ' πρῶτον εἶδον κώμην καὶ μὴ<sup>62a</sup> πορεύεσθαι ἔτι

μαχομένους· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ ἀπόμαχοι, οἱ τετρωμένοι καὶ οἱ ἐκείνους φέροντες καὶ οἱ τῶν φερόντων τὰ ὄπλα δεξάμενοι.<sup>8</sup>  
 33. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεσκήνησαν, καὶ ἐπεχείρησαν αὐτοῖς<sup>16</sup> ἀκροβολίζεσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς τὴν κώμην προσιόντες, πολὺ περιῆσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· πολὺ γὰρ διέφερεν ἐκ χώρας ὀρμώντας<sup>9</sup> ἀλέξασθαι ἢ πορευομένους ἐπιούσι<sup>5a</sup> τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι.  
 34. Ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἡδὴ δείλη, ὥρα ἦν ἀπιέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις· οὐποτε γὰρ μείον ἀπεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ βάρβαροι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ<sup>24</sup> ἐξήκοντα σταδίων,<sup>25</sup> φοβούμενοι, μὴ τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπιθῶνται<sup>43d, 47</sup> αὐτοῖς. 35. Πονηρὸν γὰρ νυκτὸς ἐστὶ στράτευμα Περσικόν. Θῆτε γὰρ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς<sup>17a</sup> δέδενται καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ πολὺ πεποδισμένοι εἰσὶ τοῦ μὴ φεύγειν<sup>62</sup> ἔνεκα, εἰ λυθείησαν.<sup>38</sup> εἰάν τις θόρυβος γίγνηται, δεῖ ἐπιστάξαι τὸν ἵππον Πέρσῃ ἀνδρὶ καὶ χαλινῶσαι δεῖ καὶ θωρακισθέντα ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα χαλεπὰ νύκτωρ καὶ θορύβου ὄντος. Τούτου ἔνεκα πόρρω ἀπεσκήνουν τῶν Ἑλλήνων.<sup>24</sup>

*For a time they throw off the pursuing army, but presently they find themselves between two fires,—with a Persian force on a hill commanding the road, and Tissaphernes in their rear.*

36. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγίγνωσκον αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες βουλομένους<sup>43c</sup> ἀπιέναι καὶ διαγγελλομένους, ἐκήρυξε τοῖς Ἑλλησι συσκευάζεσθαι, ἀκουόντων τῶν πολεμίων.<sup>27</sup> Καὶ χρόνον<sup>14a</sup> μὲν τινα ἐπέσχον τῆς πορείας<sup>24</sup> οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁψὲ ἐγίγνετο, ἀπῆρσαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει λυσιτελεῖν αὐτοῖς νυκτὸς<sup>28</sup> πορεύεσθαι καὶ κατάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. 37. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ σαφῶς ἀπιόντας<sup>43c</sup> ἡδὴ ἑώρων οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπορεύοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναζεύξαντες καὶ διῆλθον ὅσον ἐξήκοντα σταδίους. Καὶ γίγνεται τοσοῦτον μεταξὺ τῶν στρατευμάτων,<sup>67</sup> ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οὐκ ἐφάνησαν<sup>49a</sup> οἱ πολέμιοι, οὐδὲ τῇ τρίτῃ· τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ<sup>19a</sup> νυκτὸς προελθόντες καταλαμβάνουσι χωρίον ὑπερδέξιον οἱ βάρβαροι, ἢ ἔμελλον οἱ Ἕλληνες παριέναι, ἀκρωνυχίαν ὄρους,<sup>8</sup> ὑφ' ἣν ἡ κατάβασις ἦν εἰς τὸ πεδίον. 38. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἑώρα Χειρίσοφος προκατειλημμένην τὴν ἀκρωνυχίαν,<sup>43c</sup> καλεῖ Ξενοφῶντα ἀπὸ τῆς οὐράς καὶ κελεύει λαβόντα<sup>58f</sup> τοὺς πελταστὰς παραγενέσθαι<sup>44</sup> εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. 39. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τοὺς μὲν πελταστὰς οὐκ ἤγεν· ἐπιφαινόμενον γὰρ ἑώρα Τισσαφέρνην καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν· αὐτὸς δὲ προσε-

λάσας<sup>58b</sup> ἡρώτα· “Τί καλεῖς;” Ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ· “Ἐξεστὶν ὁρᾶν· κατείληπται γὰρ ἡμῖν<sup>17a</sup> ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς καταβάσεως<sup>8</sup> λόφος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι παρελθεῖν,<sup>29a</sup> εἰ μὴ τούτους κατακόψομεν. Ἀλλὰ τί οὐκ ἦγες τοὺς πελταστάς;” 40. Ὁ δὲ λέγει, ὅτι οὐκ ἔδόκει<sup>47</sup> αὐτῷ ἔρημα καταλιπεῖν τὰ ὀπισθεν, πολεμίων ἐπιφαινομένων. “Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὦρα γ’,” ἔφη, “βουλεύεσθαι, πῶς τις τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπελῇ<sup>45</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου.”

*Xenophon sees that it is possible to take this force also in the rear by occupying a superior height, and himself undertakes the work.*

41. Ἐνταῦθα Ξενοφῶν ὁρᾷ τοῦ ὄρους τὴν κορυφὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν στρατεύματος ὄσαν,<sup>43c</sup> καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔφοδον ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ λέγει· “Κράτιστον, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἡμῖν ἴεσθαι<sup>29a</sup> ὡς τάχιστα<sup>57</sup> ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον· ἦν γὰρ τοῦτο λάβωμεν,<sup>58b</sup> οὐ δυηήσονται μένειν οἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ. Ἀλλὰ, εἰ βούλει, μένε ἐπὶ τῷ στρατεύματι, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐθέλω πορεύεσθαι· εἰ δὲ χρήζεις, πορεύου ἐπὶ πρὸ ὄρος, ἐγὼ δὲ μενῶ αὐτοῦ.” 42. “Ἀλλὰ δίδωμί σοι,” ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, “πότερον βούλει ἐλέσθαι.” Εἰπὼν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ὅτι νεώτερός ἐστιν,<sup>47</sup> αἰρεῖται πορεύεσθαι·<sup>29a</sup> κελεύει δὲ οἱ συμπέμψαι<sup>44</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἄνδρας· μακρὸν γὰρ ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐράς λαβεῖν. 43. Καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος συμπέμπει τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος<sup>8</sup> πελταστάς· ἔλαβε δὲ τοὺς κατὰ μέσον τοῦ πλαισίου. Συνέπεσθαι δ’ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους, οὓς αὐτὸς εἶχε τῶν ἐπιλέκτων<sup>21a</sup> ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ πλαισίου.

*Race between the Greeks and barbarians to gain the height. Xenophon's endurance. The Greeks win.*

44. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο ὡς ἐδύναντο τάχιστα. Οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου<sup>9</sup> πολέμιοι ὡς ἐνόησαν<sup>52</sup> αὐτῶν τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, εὐθὺς καὶ αὐτοὶ ὤρμησαν ἀμιλλᾶσθαι<sup>29d</sup> ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον. 45. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ μὲν κραυγὴ ἦν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ στρατεύματος διακελευομένων<sup>52. 1c</sup> τοῖς ἑαυτῶν, πολλὴ δὲ κραυγὴ τῶν ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρνην τοῖς ἑαυτῶν διακελευομένων. 46. Ξενοφῶν δὲ παρελαύνων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου παρεκελεύετο· “Ἄνδρες, νῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα νομίζετε ἀμιλλᾶσθαι,<sup>43a</sup> νῦν πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὀλίγον πονήσαντες ἀμαχεῖ τὴν λοιπὴν πορευόμεθα.”

47. Σωτηρίδης δὲ ὁ Σικυώνιος εἶπεν· “Οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἐσμέν· σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ’ ἵππου ὀχῇ, ἐγὼ δὲ χαλεπῶς κάμνω τὴν ἀσπίδα φέρων.”<sup>581</sup> 48. Καὶ ὅς ἀκούσας<sup>58b</sup> ταῦτα καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου ὠθείται<sup>58a</sup> αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως, καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀφελόμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα<sup>57</sup> ἔχων ἐπορεύετο· ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ θώρακα ἔχων<sup>59</sup> τὸν ἱππικὸν, ὥστε ἐπιέζετο.<sup>49a</sup> Καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὑπάγειν<sup>44</sup> παρεκελεύετο, τοῖς δὲ ὀπισθεν παριέναι μόλις ἐπομένοις. 49. Οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται παίουσι καὶ βάλλουσι καὶ λοιδοροῦσι τὸν Σωτηρίδην, ἔστε ἠνάγκασαν<sup>52</sup> λαβόντα<sup>9</sup> τὴν ἀσπίδα πορεύεσθαι. Ὁ δὲ ἀναβὰς, ἕως μὲν βάσιμα ἦν,<sup>52c</sup> ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἦγεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄβατα ἦν, καταλιπὼν τὸν ἵππον ἔσπευδε περὶ. Καὶ φθάνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ γενόμενοι<sup>59</sup> τοὺς πολεμίους.

## CHAPTER V.

*At sight of this success Tissaphernes goes off by another road, but appears again suddenly in the evening, cuts off some foragers, and attempts to burn the villages where the Greeks were halting.*

1. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι στραφέντες ἔφευγον, ἢ ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο, οἱ δ’ Ἕλληνες εἶχον τὸ ἄκρον. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρνην καὶ Ἀριαῖον<sup>8a</sup> ἀποτραπόμενοι ἄλλην ὁδὸν<sup>10</sup> ὤχοντο. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον καταβάντες<sup>58b</sup> εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν κώμῃ μεστῇ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν. Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι κῶμαι πολλαί, πλήρεις πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν,<sup>26a</sup> ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πεδίῳ παρὰ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν. 2. Ἡνίκα δ’ ἦν δείλη,<sup>52</sup> ἑξαπίνης οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιφαίνονται<sup>32a</sup> ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων<sup>21a</sup> κατέκοψάν τινες τῶν ἐσκεδασμένων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καθ’ ἀρπαγὴν· καὶ γὰρ νομαὶ πολλαὶ βοσκημάτων διαβιβαζόμεναι<sup>58b</sup> εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελήφθησαν. 3. Ἐνταῦθα Τισσαφέρνης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ καίειν ἐπεχείρησαν τὰς κώμας. Καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μάλα ἠθύμησάν τινες, ἐννοούμενοι, μὴ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ καίοιεν, οὐκ ἔχοιεν,<sup>43d</sup> ὁπόθεν λαμβάνοιεν. 4. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον<sup>8a</sup> ἀπῆσαν ἐκ τῆς βοηθείας· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐπεὶ κατέβη,<sup>52</sup> παρελάνων τὰς τάξεις, ἠνίκα ἀπὸ τῆς βοηθείας

ἀπρήντησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἔλεγεν· 5. “Ὁρᾶτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ὑφιέντας<sup>43c</sup> τὴν χώραν<sup>5a</sup> ἤδη ἡμετέραν εἶναι; Ἄ γὰρ, ὅτε ἐσπένδοντο, διεπράττοντο, μὴ καίειν<sup>44</sup> τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, νῦν αὐτοὶ καίουσιν ὡς ἀλλοτρίαν. Ἄλλ’ ἐάν που καταλείπωσί<sup>53b</sup> γε αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὄψονται καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα πορευομένους. 6. Ἄλλ’, ὦ Χειρίσοφε,” ἔφη, “δοκεῖ μοι βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς καίοντας ὡς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας.” Ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν· “Οὐκουν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς,” ἔφη, “καίωμεν, *Subj. i. 1a* καὶ οὕτω θάττον παύσονται.”

*Difficult position of the Greeks. Proposal to cross the Tigris by a pontoon bridge, which is deemed impracticable, since the Persians are in force on the opposite bank.*

7. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἦλθον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι περὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν, στρατηγοὶ δὲ καὶ λοχαγοὶ συνῆλθον. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ ἀπορία ἦν. Ἐνθεν μὲν γὰρ ὄρη ἦν ὑπερύψηλα, ἔνθεν δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς τοσοῦτος τὸ βάθος,<sup>14b</sup> ὡς μηδὲ τὰ δόρατα ὑπερέχειν<sup>49a, 06s.</sup> πειρωμένοις<sup>17</sup> τοῦ βάθους.<sup>23</sup> 8. Ἀπορουμένοις δ’ αὐτοῖς προσελθὼν τις ἀνὴρ Ῥόδιος εἶπεν· “Ἐγὼ θέλω, ὦ ἄνδρες, διαβιβάσαι ὑμᾶς κατὰ τετρακισχιλίους ὀπλίτας, ἂν ἐμοὶ ὧν δέομαι ὑπηρετήσητε καὶ τάλαντον μισθὸν<sup>3</sup> πορίσητε.” 9. Ἐρωτώμενος δὲ, ὅτου δέοιτο,<sup>45</sup> “Ἀσκῶν,”<sup>26a</sup> ἔφη, “δισχιλίων δεήσομαι· πολλὰ δ’ ὀρώ [ταῦτα] πρόβατα καὶ αἰγας καὶ βοῦς καὶ ὄνους, ἃ ἀποδαρέντα καὶ φυσηθέντα<sup>58c</sup> ῥαδίως ἂν παρέχοι τὴν διάβασιν. 10. Δεήσομαι δὲ καὶ τῶν δεσμῶν, οἷς<sup>19c</sup> χρησθε περὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· τούτοις<sup>19a</sup> ζεύξας τοὺς ἀσκούς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὀρμίσας<sup>58f</sup> ἕκαστον ἀσκὸν, λίθους ἀρτήσας καὶ ἀφείς ὥσπερ ἀγκύρας εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, διαγαγὼν καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν δήσας, ἐπιβαλὼ ὕλην καὶ γῆν ἐπιφορήσω. 11. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐ καταδύσεσθε, αὐτίκα μάλα εἴσεσθε· πᾶς γὰρ ἀσκὸς δύο ἄνδρας ἔξει τοῦ μὴ καταδύναι.<sup>24</sup> ὥστε δὲ μὴ ὀλισθάνειν,<sup>49a</sup> ἢ ὕλη καὶ ἢ γῆ σχήσει.” 12. Ἀκούσασι ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα<sup>5a</sup> χαρίεν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τὸ δ’ ἔργον ἀδύνατον· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ κωλύοντες πέραν πολλοὶ ἱππεῖς, οἱ εὐθὺς τοῖς πρώτοις οὐδὲν ἂν ἐπέτρεπον<sup>53d</sup> τούτων ποιεῖν.

*Inquiries as to possible routes.*

13. Ἐνταῦθα τὴν μὲν ὑστεραίαν<sup>14a</sup> ὑπανεχώρουν εἰς τοῦμπαλιν

ἡ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα εἰς τὰς ἀκαύστους κώμας, κατακαύσαντες ἔνθεν ἐξήρσαν· ὥστε οἱ πολέμιοι οὐ προσήλαυνον,<sup>49a</sup> ἀλλὰ ἐθεῶντο καὶ ὅμοιοι ἦσαν θαυμάζειν,<sup>49c</sup> ὅποι ποτὲ τρέψονται<sup>45, 47</sup> οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ τί ἐν νῶ ἔχοιεν. 14. Ἐνταῦθα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι στρατιῶται ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ πάλιν συνήλθον, καὶ συναγαγόντες τοὺς ἐαλωκότας ἤλεγχον τὴν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν χώραν, τίς ἐκάστη εἶη. 15. Οἱ δ' ἔλεγον, ὅτι τὰ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τῆς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα εἶη<sup>43b</sup> καὶ Μηδίαν, δι' ἧσπερ ἦκοιεν,<sup>40</sup> ἡ δὲ πρὸς ἑω ἐπὶ Σοῦσά τε καὶ Ἐκβάτανα φέροι, ἔνθα θερίζειν καὶ ἐαρίζειν λέγεται βασιλεὺς, ἡ δὲ διαβάντι<sup>17</sup> τὸν ποταμὸν πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐπὶ Λυδίαν καὶ Ἰωνίαν φέροι, ἡ δὲ διὰ τῶν ὀρέων καὶ πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένη ὅτι εἰς Καρδούχους ἄγοι. 16. Τούτους δὲ ἔφασαν οἰκεῖν ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη καὶ πολεμικοὺς εἶναι,<sup>43a</sup> καὶ βασιλέως οὐκ ἀκούειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμβαλεῖν ποτε εἰς αὐτοὺς βασιλικὴν στρατιὰν δώδεκα μυριάδας· τούτων<sup>21a</sup> δὲ οὐδένα ἀπονοστήσαι διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν· ὅποτε μέντοι πρὸς τὸν σατράπην τὸν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ σπείσαιντο,<sup>40b</sup> καὶ ἐπιμυγνύναι σφῶν<sup>21b</sup> τε πρὸς ἐκείνους καὶ ἐκείνων πρὸς ἑαυτούς.

*The generals decide to cross the Carduchian mountains into Armenia.*

17. Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκάθισαν χωρὶς τοὺς ἐκασταχόσε φάσκοντας εἰδέναί, οὐδὲν δὲ δῆλον ποιήσαντες,<sup>58b</sup> ὅποι πορεύεσθαι ἔμελλον. Ἐδόκει δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι διὰ τῶν ὀρέων εἰς Καρδούχους ἐμβαλεῖν· τούτους γὰρ διελθόντας ἔφασαν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἥξειν, ἧς<sup>25</sup> Ὀρόντας ἦρχε πολλῆς καὶ εὐδαίμονος. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' εὐπορον ἔφασαν εἶναι, ὅποι τις ἐθέλοι<sup>40b</sup> πορεύεσθαι. 18. Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθύσαντο, ὅπως, ὅπηνίκα καὶ δοκοίη τῆς ὥρας, τὴν πορείαν ποιοῖντο·<sup>50</sup> τὴν γὰρ ὑπερβολὴν τῶν ὀρέων ἐδεδοίκεσαν, μὴ προκαταληφθεῖν<sup>43d</sup> καὶ παρήγγειλαν, ἐπειδὴ δειπνήσαιεν,<sup>46</sup> συνεσκευασμένους πάντας ἀναπαύεσθαι,<sup>44</sup> καὶ ἔπεσθαι, ἥνίκ' ἂν τις παραγγέλλῃ.<sup>47</sup>

**ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ**  
**ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ**  
**ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ.**

*THE HOMEWARD MARCH THROUGH KURDISTAN AND ARMENIA  
THE GREEKS COME DOWN TO THE EUFRATE*

**CHAPTER I**

*The Greeks resolve, instead of crossing the Tigris here, to work their way over the hills of Kurdistan, and to cross it at its source.*

1. Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει ἐγένετο μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, ὥς βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες Ἕλληνες<sup>8</sup> ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ ὅσα, παραβάντος τὰς σπονδὰς βασιλέως<sup>27</sup> καὶ Τιμισαφέρνης, ἐπολεμήθη<sup>13</sup> πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐπακολουθοῦντος τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. 2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο,<sup>52</sup> ἔνθα ὁ μὲν Τίγρης ποταμὸς παντάπασιν ἄπορος ἦν διὰ τὸ βάθος καὶ μέγεθος, πάροδος δὲ οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ τὰ Καρδούχια ὄρη ἀπότομα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκρέματο, ἐδόκει δὴ τοῖς στρατιωταῖς διὰ τῶν ὁρέων πορευτέον<sup>21a</sup> εἶναι. 3. Ἦκουον γὰρ τῶν ἀλισκομένων,<sup>28</sup> ὅτι, εἰ διέλθοιεν<sup>38</sup> τὰ Καρδούχια ὄρη, ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ, ἣν μὲν βούλωνται, διαβήσονται,<sup>47</sup> ἣν δὲ μὴ βούλωνται, περιίασιν. Καὶ τοῦ Εὐφράτου δὲ τὰς πηγὰς ἐλέγετο οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Τίγρητος εἶναι.<sup>48a</sup> καὶ ἔστιν οὕτως ἔχον. 4. Τὴν δ' εἰς τοὺς Καρδούχους ἐμβολὴν ὧδε παιοῦνται, ἅμα μὲν λαθεῖν πειρώμενοι, ἅμα δὲ φθάσαι, πρὶν τοὺς πολεμίους καταλαβεῖν<sup>52a</sup> τὰ ἄκρα.

*They cross the first ridge, Cheirisophus leading the van and Xenophon the rear, and come to villages in the mountain valleys.*

5. Ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ τὴν τελευταίαν φυλακὴν καὶ ἐλείπετο τῆς νυκτὸς<sup>21a</sup> ὅσον σκοταίους διελθεῖν<sup>49a</sup> τὸ πεδῖον, τηνικαῦτα ἀναστάντες<sup>58b</sup> ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως πορευόμενοι ἀφικνοῦνται ἅμα τῇ



ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. 6. Ἐνθα δὲ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἡγεῖτο τοῦ στρατεύματος,<sup>25</sup> λαβὼν τὸ ἄμφ' αὐτὸν<sup>26</sup> καὶ τοὺς γυμνήτας πάντας, Ξινοφῶν δὲ σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξιν ὀπλίταις εἶπετο οὐδένα ἔχων γυμνήτην· οὐδεὶς γὰρ κίνδυνος ἐδόκει εἶναι, μή τις ἄνω πορευομένων ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθεν ἐπίσποιτο.<sup>28d</sup> 7. Καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβαίνει Χειρίσοφος, πρὶν τινα αἰσθῆσθαι<sup>29a</sup> τῶν πολεμίων· ἔπειτα δ' ὑφηγεῖτο· ἐφείπετο δὲ αἰεὶ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τοῦ στρατεύματος εἰς τὰς κώμας τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἄγκεσί τε καὶ μυχοῖς τῶν ὀρέων.<sup>8</sup>

*In spite of all their efforts at conciliation the Carduchians fly before them, and refuse all communication with them. At the close of the day, however, some of them gather together for an attack on the rear.*

8. Ἐνθα δὲ οἱ μὲν Καρδοῦχοι ἐκλιπόντες τὰς οἰκίας, ἔχοντες καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας, ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη. Τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ<sup>30a</sup> ἦν λαμβάνειν· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ χαλκώμασι παμπόλλοις<sup>30b</sup> κατεσκευασμένοι αἱ οἰκίαι, ὧν οὐδὲν ἔφερον οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐδίωκον, ὑποφειδόμενοι, εἴ πως ἐθελήσειαν<sup>31</sup> οἱ Καρδοῦχοι διέναι αὐτοὺς ὡς διὰ φιλίας τῆς<sup>32</sup> χώρας, ἐπεὶ περ βασιλεῖ πολέμιοι ἦσαν.<sup>31</sup> 9. Τὰ μέντοι ἐπιτήδεια, ὅτῳ τις ἐπιτυχάνοι,<sup>40b</sup> ἐλάμβανον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἦν. Οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι οὔτε καλούντων<sup>28</sup> ὑπήκουον οὔτε ἄλλο φιλικὸν οὐδὲν ἐποίουν. 10. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέβαινον εἰς τὰς κώμας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου ἤδη σκοταῖοι· διὰ γὰρ τὸ στενὴν<sup>33a</sup> εἶναι τὴν ὁδὸν ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν<sup>34a</sup> ἢ ἀνάβασις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο καὶ κατάβασις εἰς τὰς κώμας· τότε δὲ συλλεγόντες<sup>38b</sup> τινὲς τῶν Καρδούχων τοῖς τελευταίοις<sup>16</sup> ἐπέθεντο, καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν τινας καὶ λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασι κατέτρωσαν, ὀλίγοι τινὲς ὄντες· ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπέπεσε τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. 11. Εἰ μέντοι τότε πλείους συνελέγησαν,<sup>33d</sup> ἐκινδύνευσεν ἂν διαφθαρῆναι πολὺ τοῦ στρατεύματος. Καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν νύκτα οὕτως ἐν ταῖς κώμας ἡϋλίσθησαν· οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι πυρὰ πολλὰ ἔκαιον κύκλῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων, καὶ συνεώρων ἀλλήλους.

*Conscious of the perils that lie in the way, they resolve to leave all superfluous baggage and cattle, and carry out the resolution by a general inspection.*

12. Ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθοῦσι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔδοξε τῶν τε ὑποζυγίων<sup>21a</sup> τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ δυνατώτατα πορεύεσθαι ἔχοντας, καταλιπόντας τὰλλα, καὶ, ὅποσα

ἦν νεωστὶ αἰχμάλωτα ἀνδράποδα ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ, πάντα ἀφείναι.

13. Σχολαίαν γὰρ ἐποίουν τὴν πορείαν<sup>52</sup> πολλὰ ὄντα τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα, πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὄντες ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν, διπλάσιά τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔδει πορίζεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι, πολλῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄντων. Δόξαν<sup>51</sup> δὲ ταῦτα, ἐκήρυξαν οὕτω ποιεῖν.

14. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀριστήσαντες<sup>58b</sup> ἐπορεύοντο, ὑποστάντες ἐν στενῷ οἱ στρατηγοὶ, εἴ τί εὐρίσκοιεν<sup>40b</sup> τῶν εἰρημένων μὴ ἀφειμένον, ἀφηροῦντο· οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο, πλὴν εἴ τίς τι ἔκλεψεν, οἷον ἡ παιδὸς<sup>23</sup> ἐπιθυμήσας ἢ γυναικὸς τῶν εὐπρεπῶν.

*The Carduchians, in stormy weather, harass their march. Cheirisophus refuses to halt, and presses forward in spite of Xenophon's frequent messages.*

Καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν<sup>14a</sup> οὕτως ἐπορεύθησαν, τὰ μὲν τι μαχόμενοι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοι. 15. Εἰς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν γίγνεται χειμὼν πολὺς, ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἦν πορεύεσθαι.<sup>29a</sup> οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἱκανὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Καὶ ἡγεῖτο μὲν Χειρίσοφος, ὠπισθοφυλάκει δὲ Ξενοφῶν. 16. Καὶ οἱ πολέμοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ στενῶν ὄντων τῶν χωρίων<sup>27</sup> ἐγγὺς προσιόντες ἐτόξευον καὶ ἐσφενδόνων· ὥστε ἡναγκάζοντο<sup>49a</sup> οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπιδιώκοντες καὶ πάλιν ἀναχάζοντες σχολῇ πορεύεσθαι· καὶ θαμινὰ παρήγγειλεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὑπομένειν,<sup>44</sup> ὅτε οἱ πολέμοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπικέοιντο.<sup>52</sup> 17. Ἐνθα ὁ Χειρίσοφος ἄλλοτε μὲν, ὅτε παρεγγυῶτα, ὑπέμενε, τότε δὲ οὐχ ὑπέμενε, ἀλλ' ἦγε ταχέως καὶ παρηγγύα ἔπεσθαι, ὥστε δῆλον ἦν, ὅτι πρᾶγμα τι εἶη.<sup>43b</sup> σχολῇ δ' οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν παρελθόντι<sup>18</sup> τὸ αἷτιον τῆς σπουδῆς· ὥστε ἡ πορεία ὁμοία φυγῇ ἐγίγνετο τοῖς ὠπισθοφύλαξι.<sup>17</sup> 18. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀποθνήσκει ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, Λακωνικὸς, Κλεώνυμος, τοξευθεὶς<sup>58i</sup> διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος καὶ τῆς σπολάδος εἰς τὰς πλευρὰς, καὶ Βασίας Ἀρκὰς, διαμπερὲς τὴν κεφαλὴν.<sup>14b</sup>

*Cheirisophus explains his refusal. 'The way is blocked by a hostile force, and the guides say there is no other way.'*

19. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ σταθμὸν,<sup>52</sup> εὐθὺς ὥσπερ εἶχεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσοφον ἡγιάτο αὐτὸν, ὅτι οὐχ ὑπέμεινε,<sup>51</sup> ἀλλ' ἡναγκάζοντο φεύγοντες ἅμα μάχεσθαι. “Καὶ νῦν δύο καλῶ τε καὶ ἀγαθῷ ἀνδρε τέθνατον, καὶ οὔτε ἀνελέσθαι οὔτε θάψαι ἐδυνάμεθα.” 20. Ἀποκρίνεται ὁ Χειρίσοφος, “Βλέψον,” ἔφη, “πρὸς τὰ ὄρη καὶ ἰδὲ ὡς ἄβατα πάντα ἐστί· μία δὲ αὕτη ὁδός,

ἦν ὁρᾶς, ὀρθία, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων ὁρᾶν<sup>20a</sup> ἔξεστί σοι ὄχλον τοσοῦτον, οἳ κατειληφότες φυλάττουσι τὴν ἐκβασιν. 21. Ταῦτ' ἐγὼ ἔσπευδον καὶ διὰ τοῦτό σε οὐχ ὑπέμενον, εἴ πως δυναίμην φθάσαι, πρὶν κατειληφθαι<sup>52a</sup> τὴν ὑπερβολήν· οἱ δ' ἡγεμόνες, οὓς ἔχομεν, οὗ φασιν<sup>63</sup> εἶναι ἄλλην ὁδόν."

*Xenophon produces two captives that he has taken, and elicits from one of them that there is another path, commanded, however, by a hill, which it is necessary to occupy.*

22. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν λέγει· "Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ ἔχω δύο ἄνδρας. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν<sup>16</sup> πράγματα παρείχον, ἐνηδρεύσαμεν, ὅπερ<sup>4b</sup> ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαι ἐποίησε, καὶ ἀπεκτείναντες τινὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ ζῶντας προὔθυμήθημεν λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ τούτου<sup>67a</sup> ἕνεκεν, ὅπως ἡγεμόσιν<sup>19a</sup> εἰδόσι τὴν χώραν χρησαίμεθα.

23. Καὶ εὐθύς ἀγαγόντες<sup>58b</sup> τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἡλεγχον διαλαβόντες, εἴ τινα εἰδεῖεν<sup>45</sup> ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἢ τὴν φανεράν. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἕτερος οὐκ ἔφη<sup>63</sup> καὶ μάλα πολλῶν φόβων προσαγομένων· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ὠφέλιμον ἔλεγεν, ὁρῶντος τοῦ ἑτέρου,<sup>27</sup> κατεσφάγη.

24. Ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς ἔλεξεν, ὅτι οὗτος μὲν οὗ φαίη<sup>43b</sup> διὰ ταῦτα εἰδέναι, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἐτύγχανε<sup>51</sup> θυγάτηρ ἐκεῖ παρ' ἀνδρὶ ἐκδεδομένη·<sup>50</sup> αὐτὸς δ' ἔφη ἡγήσεσθαι δυνατὴν καὶ ὑποζυγίοις πορεύεσθαι ὁδόν.

25. Ἐρωτώμενος δ', εἰ εἴη τι ἐν αὐτῇ δυσπάρειτον χωρίον, ἔφη εἶναι ἄκρον, ὃ εἰ μή τις προκαταλήψοιτο,<sup>46</sup> ἀδύνατον ἔσεσθαι παρελθεῖν.

*A party of volunteers undertake to occupy this 'point of vantage.'*

26. Ἐνταῦθα ἐδόκει συγκαλέσαντας<sup>9</sup> λοχαγοὺς καὶ πελταστὰς καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν λέγειν τε τὰ παρόντα καὶ ἐρωτᾶν, εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἔστιν, ὅστις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐθέλοι ἂν<sup>54b</sup> γενέσθαι καὶ ὑποστὰς ἐθελοντῆς πορεύεσθαι. 27. Ὑφίσταται τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν Ἀριστώνυμος, Μεθυδριεὺς Ἀρκὰς, καὶ Ἀγασίας, Στυμφάλιος Ἀρκὰς. Ἀντιστασιάζων δὲ αὐτοῖς<sup>16</sup> Καλλίμαχος, Παρράσιος Ἀρκὰς, καὶ οὗτος ἔφη ἐθέλει πορεύεσθαι, προσλαβὼν ἐθελοντὰς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος· "ἐγὼ γὰρ," ἔφη, "οἶδα, ὅτι ἔψονται πολλοὶ τῶν νέων, ἐμοῦ ἡγουμένου."<sup>27, 58c</sup> 28. Ἐκ τούτου ἐρωτῶσιν, εἴ τις καὶ τῶν γυμνητῶν ταξιαρχῶν ἐθέλοι<sup>45</sup> συμπορεύεσθαι. Ὑφίσταται Ἀριστέας Χίος, ὃς πολλαχοῦ πολλοῦ<sup>25a</sup> ἄξιός τῃ στρατιᾷ εἰς τὰ ποικύτα ἐγένετο.

## CHAPTER II.

*The volunteers depart with the guide, while Xenophon distracts the enemy's attention by a feint upon the main road.*

1. Καὶ ἦν μὲν δαίλη ἤδη, οἱ δ' ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς ἐμφαγόντας πορεύεσθαι.<sup>44</sup> Καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα δῆσαντες<sup>50b</sup> παραδιδόασιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ συντίθενται τὴν μὲν νύκτα,<sup>14a</sup> ἣν λάβωσι<sup>38</sup> τὸ ἄκρον, τὸ χωρίον φυλάττειν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ σάλπιγγι<sup>19a</sup> σημαίνειν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνω ὄντας ἰέναι ἐπὶ τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν φανεράν ἐκβασιν, αὐτοὶ<sup>9</sup> δὲ συμβοηθήσειν ἐκβαίνοντες ὡς ἂν δύνωνται τάχιστα.<sup>57, 39b</sup> 2. Ταῦτα συνθέμενοι οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο πλῆθος ὡς διωχίλιοι· καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ ἦν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἔχων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἡγεῖτο πρὸς τὴν φανεράν ἐκβασιν, ὅπως ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ<sup>16</sup> οἱ πολέμιοι προσέχουεν<sup>50</sup> τὸν νοῦν καὶ ὡς μάλιστα λάθοιεν οἱ περιόντες.

*The feint is kept up till dark, the enemy rolling huge boulders down into the ravine.*

3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν<sup>52</sup> ἐπὶ χαράδρᾳ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, ἦν ἔδει διαβάντας<sup>58b</sup> πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον ἐκβαίνειν, τηνικαῦτα ἐκυλίνδουν οἱ βάρβαροι ὀλοιστρόχους ἁμαξιαίους καὶ μείζους καὶ ἐλάττους, οἱ φερόμενοι πρὸς τὰς πέτρας πταίνοντες<sup>58c</sup> διεσφενδονῶντο· καὶ παντάπασιν οὐδὲ πελάσαι οἶόν τ' ἦν τῇ εἰσόδῳ.<sup>16</sup> 4. Ἐνιοὶ δὲ τῶν λοχαγῶν,<sup>21a</sup> εἰ μὴ ταύτῃ δύναιντο,<sup>40b</sup> ἄλλῃ ἐπειρῶντο· καὶ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν, μέχρι σκύτος ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾤοντο ἀφανεῖς εἶναι ἀπιόντες,<sup>50</sup> τότε ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον· ἐτύγχανον δὲ καὶ ἀνάριστοι ὄντες αὐτῶν οἱ ὀπισθοφυλακήσαντες. Οἱ μέντοι πολέμιοι, φοβούμενοι δῆλον ὅτι, οὐδὲν ἐπαύσαντο δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς κυλινδοῦντες τοὺς λίθους· τεκμαίρεσθαι<sup>20a</sup> δ' ἦν τῷ ψόφῳ.<sup>19a</sup>

*The volunteers occupy an outpost of the enemy, fancying that it is the hill of which the guide had spoken, and from thence attack the main body at daylight.*

5. Οἱ δὲ ἔχοντες τὸν ἡγεμόνα κύκλῳ περιόντες καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς φύλακας ἀμφὶ πῦρ καθημένους·<sup>5b</sup> καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατα-

κανόντες, τοὺς δὲ καταδιώξαντες αὐτοὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἔμενον ὡς τὸ ἄκρον κατέχοντες.<sup>58a</sup> 6. Οἱ δ' οὐ κατεῖχον, ἀλλὰ μαστὸς ἦν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, παρ' ὃν<sup>10</sup> ἦν ἡ<sup>6a</sup> στενὴ αὕτη ὁδὸς, ἐφ' ἣ ἐκάθηντο οἱ φύλακες. Ἐφοδος μέντοι αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἦν, οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ φανερᾷ ὁδῷ ἐκάθηντο. 7. Καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα ἐνταῦθα διήγαγον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ὑπέφαινε, ἐπορεύοντο σιγῇ συντεταγμένοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ γὰρ ὁμίχλη ἐγένετο, ὥστε ἔλαθον<sup>49a</sup> ἐγγὺς προσελθόντες.<sup>50</sup> Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον ἀλλήλους, ἡ τε σάλπιγξ ἐπεφθέγγετο καὶ ἀλαλάζαντες<sup>58b</sup> ἔεντο εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ λιπόντες τὴν ὁδὸν φεύγοντες ὀλίγοι ἀπέθνησκον· εὖζωνοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν.

*The Greeks advance, Cheirisophus by the direct road, Xenophon by the other. This latter road they find commanded by two hills from which they have successively to dislodge the enemy, leaving a small force in occupation.*

8. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον ἀκούσαντες τῆς σάλπιγγος<sup>28</sup> εὐθὺς ἔεντο ἄνω κατὰ τὴν φανεράν ὁδόν· ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν<sup>21a</sup> κατὰ ἀτριβεῖς ὁδοὺς ἐπορεύοντο, ἡ ἔτυχον ἕκαστοι ὄντες,<sup>59</sup> καὶ ἀναβάντες,<sup>58b</sup> ὡς ἐδύναντο, ἀνίμων ἀλλήλους τοῖς δόρασι.<sup>10a</sup> 9. Καὶ οὗτοι πρῶτοι συνέμιξαν τοῖς προκαταλαβοῦσι<sup>16</sup> τὸ χωρίον. Ξενοφῶν δὲ, ἔχων τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων τοὺς ἡμίσεις, ἐπορεύετο, ἥπερ οἱ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἔχοντες· εὐδωτάτη γὰρ ἦν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις.<sup>17</sup> τοὺς δὲ ἡμίσεις ὀπισθεν τῶν ὑποζυγίων<sup>28</sup> ἔταξε. 10. Πορευόμενοι δ' ἐντυγχάνουσι λόφῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ κατειλημμένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων,<sup>41a</sup> οὓς ἡ ἀποκόψαι ἦν ἀνάγκη, ἡ διεζεύχθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων. Καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἂν ἐπορεύθησαν,<sup>58d</sup> ἥπερ οἱ ἄλλοι, τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια οὐκ ἦν ἄλλη ἢ ταύτη ἐκβῆναι. 11. Ἐνθα δὴ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις προσβάλλουσι πρὸς τὸν λόφον ὀρθίοις<sup>5b</sup> τοῖς λόχοις, οὐ κύκλῳ, ἀλλὰ καταλιπόντες ἄφοδον τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ βούλονται<sup>28</sup> φεύγειν. 12. Καὶ τέως μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας, ὅπῃ ἐδύναντο ἕκαστος, οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτόξευον καὶ ἔβαλλον, ἐγγὺς δ' οὐκ προσίεντο, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ λείπουσι τὸ χωρίον. Καὶ τοῦτόν τε παρεληλύθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ἕτερον ὁρῶσιν<sup>16</sup> ἔμπροσθεν λόφον κατεχόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦτον αὐθις ἐδόκει πορεύεσθαι. 13. Ἐννοήσας δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν, μὴ, εἰ ἔρημον καταλείποι<sup>40</sup> τὸν ἡλωκότα λόφον, καὶ πάλιν λαβόντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιθοῖντο τοῖς

ὑποζυγίοις<sup>18</sup> παριούσιν,<sup>58b</sup> ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ ἦν τὰ ὑποζύγια, ἅτε διὰ στενῆς<sup>5b</sup> τῆς ὁδοῦ πορευόμενα,<sup>58a</sup> καταλείπει ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου λοχαγούς Κηφισόδωρον Κηφισοφῶντος, Ἀθηναῖον, καὶ Ἀμφικράτην Ἀμφιδήμου, Ἀθηναῖον, καὶ Ἀρχαγόραν, Ἀργεῖον, φυγάδα· αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον λόφον, καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τοῦτον αἰροῦσιν.

*The third hill, that spoken of by the guide, still remains. As Xenophon occupies it he hears that the guard he had left on the first hill has been dislodged with considerable loss.*

14. Ἔτι δ' αὐτοῖς<sup>17</sup> τρίτος μαστὸς λοιπὸς ἦν πολὺ ὀρθιώτατος, ὃ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ καταληφθείσης<sup>8</sup> φυλακῆς τῆς νυκτὸς<sup>28</sup> ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθελοντῶν. 15. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπουνσιν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀμαχητὶ τὸν μαστὸν, ὥστε θαυμαστὸν πᾶσι γενέσθαι,<sup>49a</sup> καὶ ὑπώπτειν δέισαντας<sup>58a</sup> αὐτοὺς, μὴ κυκλωθέντες πολιορκοῖντο,<sup>43a</sup> ἀπολιπεῖν. Οἱ δ' ἄρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου καθορῶντες τὰ ὀπισθεν γιγνόμενα πάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἐχώρουν. 16. Καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν σὺν τοῖς νεωτάτοις ἀνέβαινεν<sup>32</sup> ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν ὑπάγειν, ὅπως οἱ τελευταῖοι λόχοι προσμίξειαν,<sup>59</sup> καὶ προελθόντας κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ θέσθαι<sup>44</sup> τὰ ὅπλα εἶπε. 17. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἦλθεν Ἀρχαγόρας ὁ Ἀργεῖος πεφευγώς, καὶ λέγει, ὡς ἀπεκόπησαν<sup>47</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λόφου καὶ ὅτι τεθνήασι Κηφισόδωρος καὶ Ἀμφικράτης καὶ ἄλλοι, ὅσοι μὴ<sup>62</sup> ἀλόμενοι κατὰ τῆς πέτρας πρὸς τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἀφίκοντο.

*Dangerous position of the Greeks, who are obliged to make confession of defeat. Final attack of the mountaineers.*

18. Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἤκον ἐπ' ἀντίπορον λόφον τῷ μαστῷ.<sup>16</sup> καὶ Ξενοφῶν διελέγετο αὐτοῖς δι' ἑρμηνέως περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπῆτει. 19. Οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν ἀποδώσειν,<sup>43a</sup> ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ καίειν<sup>49a</sup> τὰς κώμας. Συνωμολόγει ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν. Ἐν ᾧ<sup>52</sup> δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο στράτευμα παρῇ, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα διελέγοντο, πάντες οἱ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τόπου<sup>8a</sup> συνερρύησαν. Ἐνταῦθα ἴσταντο οἱ πολέμιοι. 20. Καὶ ἐπεὶ ἤρξαντο καταβαίνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ μαστοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, ἔνθα τὰ ὅπλα ἔκειντο, ἵεντο δὴ οἱ πολέμιοι πολλῷ πλήθει καὶ θορύβῳ· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῆς

κορυφῆς τοῦ μαστοῦ, ἀφ' οὗ Ξενοφῶν κατέβαινε, ἐκυλίνδουν<sup>32</sup> πέτρας· καὶ ἐνὸς μὲν κατέαξαν τὸ σκέλος, Ξενοφῶντα δὲ ὁ ὑπασπιστῆς ἔχων τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀπέλιπεν· 21. Εὐρύλοχος δὲ Λουσιεὺς Ἀρκὰς προσέδραμεν αὐτῷ ὀπλίτης, καὶ πρὸ ἀμφοῖν προβεβλημένος ἀπεχώρει, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς τοὺς συντεταγμένους ἀπῆλθον.

*The march is continued under repeated attacks, which were difficult to repel, owing to the agility of the mountaineers, accustomed to this guerilla warfare.*

22. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου πᾶν ὁμοῦ ἐγένετο τὸ Ἑλληνικόν,<sup>33</sup> καὶ ἐσκήνησαν αὐτοῦ ἐν πολλαῖς καὶ καλαῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ἐπιτηδείοις δαψιλέσι· καὶ γὰρ οἶνος πολὺς ἦν, ὃν ἐν λάκκοις κονιατοῖς εἶχον. 23. Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος διεπράξαντο, ὥστε λαβόντες τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπέδωκαν<sup>34</sup> τὸν ἡγεμόνα· καὶ πάντα ἐποίησαν τοῖς ἀποθανούσιν<sup>35</sup> ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν, ὥσπερ νομίζεται ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς. 24. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ<sup>36</sup> ἄνευ ἡγεμόνος ἐπορεύοντο· μαχόμενοι δ' οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ, ὅπη εἶη<sup>37</sup> στενὸν χωρίον, προκαταλαμβάνοντες ἐκώλυον τὰς παρόδους. 25. Ὅποτε μὲν οὖν τοὺς πρώτους κωλύοιεν, Ξενοφῶν ὀπισθεν ἐκβαίνων πρὸς τὰ ὄρη ἔλυε τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς ὁδοῦ τοῖς πρώτοις ἀνωτέρω πειρώμενος γίνεσθαι τῶν κωλυνόντων.<sup>38</sup> 26. Ὅποτε δὲ τοῖς ὀπισθεν<sup>39</sup> ἐπιθοῖντο, Χειρίσοφος ἐκβαίνων καὶ πειρώμενος ἀνωτέρω γίνεσθαι τῶν κωλυνόντων ἔλυε τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου τοῖς ὀπισθεν<sup>40</sup> καὶ αἰεὶ οὕτως ἐβοήθουν ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἀλλήλων<sup>41</sup> ἐπεμέλοντο. 27. Ἦν δὲ καὶ ὅποτε αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀναβάσι πολλὰ πράγματα παρείχον οἱ βάρβαροι πάλιν καταβαίνουσιν.<sup>42</sup> ἑλαφροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ὥστε καὶ ἐγγύθεν φεύγοντες<sup>43</sup> ἀποφεύγειν.<sup>44</sup> οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶχον ἄλλο ἢ τόξα καὶ σφενδόνας.

*The Carduchian archers.*

28. Ἀριστοι δὲ καὶ τοξόται ἦσαν· εἶχον δὲ τόξα ἐγγὺς τριπλήχη, τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα πλεον ἢ διπλήχη· εἶλκον δὲ τὰς νευρὰς, ὅποτε τοξεύοιεν,<sup>45</sup> πρὸς τὸ κάτω τοῦ τόξου τῷ ἀριστερῷ ποδὶ προσβαίνοντες. Τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα ἐχώρει διὰ τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν θωράκων. Ἐχρῶντο δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ λάβοιεν, ἀκοντίοις,<sup>46</sup> ἐναγκυλῶντες. Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χωρίοις οἱ Κρήτες χρησιμώτατοι ἐγένοντο. Ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν<sup>47</sup> Στρατοκλῆς Κρής.

### CHAPTER III.

*After seven days of severe fighting and suffering the Greeks reach the border of Kurdistan, the river Kentrites.*

1. Ταύτην δ' αὖ τὴν ἡμέραν ἠϋλίσθησαν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ταῖς<sup>8, 5a</sup> ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ παρὰ τὸν Κεντρίτην ποταμὸν, εὖρος<sup>14b</sup> ὡς δίπλεθρον, ὃς ὀρίζει τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Καρδούχων χώραν. Καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐνταῦθα ἀνεπαύσαντο ἄσμενοι ἰδόντες πεδίον· ἀπείχε δὲ τῶν ὀρέων<sup>24</sup> ὁ ποταμὸς ὡς ἕξ ἢ ἑπτὰ στάδια<sup>14a</sup> τῶν Καρδούχων. 2. Τότε μὲν οὖν ἠϋλίσθησαν μάλα ἡδέως καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχοντες, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν παρεληλυθότων πόνων<sup>23</sup> μνημονεύοντες. Ἑπτὰ γὰρ ἡμέρας, ὅσας περ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῶν Καρδούχων, πάσας<sup>14a</sup> μαχόμενοι διετέλεσαν, καὶ ἔπαθον κακὰ, ὅσα οὐδὲ τὰ σύμπαντα ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ Τιωσαφέρνους. Ὡς οὖν ἀπηλλαγμένοι τούτων ἡδέως ἐκοιμήθησαν.

*They find a large force collected on the other side of the river to dispute their passage. Description of the ford.*

3. Ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὀρώσιν ἱππεῖς που πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐξωπλισμένους ὡς κωλύσοντας<sup>50a</sup> διαβαίνειν, πεζοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις παρατεταγμένους ἄνω τῶν ἱππέων<sup>25</sup> ὡς κωλύσοντας εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐκβαίνειν. 4. Ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Ὀρόντου καὶ Ἀρτούχου,<sup>21</sup> Ἀρμένιοι καὶ Μαρδόνιοι καὶ Χαλδαῖοι μισθοφόροι. Ἐλέγοντο<sup>43a, 04a</sup> δὲ οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐλεύθεροί τε καὶ ἄλκιμοι εἶναι· ὅπλα δ' εἶχον γέρρα μακρὰ καὶ λόγχας. 5. Αἱ δὲ ὄχθαι αὗται, ἐφ' ὧν παρατεταγμένοι οὗτοι ἦσαν, τρία ἢ τέτταρα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπείχον· ὁδὸς δὲ μία ἢ ὀρωμένη<sup>5a</sup> ἦν ἄγουσα ἄνω ὥσπερ χειροποίητος· ταύτην ἐπειρῶντο διαβαίνειν οἱ Ἕλληνες. 6. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πειρωμένοις<sup>17</sup> τό τε ὕδωρ ὑπὲρ τῶν μαστῶν ἐφαίνετο, καὶ τραχὺς ἦν ὁ ποταμὸς μεγάλοις λίθοις<sup>19a</sup> καὶ ὀλωθηροῖς, καὶ οὗτ' ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τὰ ὅπλα ἦν ἔχειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἥρπαζεν ὁ ποταμός· ἐπὶ τε τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰ ὅπλα εἴ τις φέροι<sup>40b</sup> γυμνοὶ ἐγίγνοντο πρὸς τὰ τοξεύματα καὶ τᾶλλα βέλη· ἀνεχώρησαν οὖν καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν.



*At the same time the Carduchians appear in their rear. Xenophon is encouraged by a dream of liberation.*

7. Ἐνθα δὲ αὐτοὶ τὴν πρόσθεν νύκτα<sup>14a</sup> ἦσαν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἑώρων τοὺς<sup>5b</sup> Καρδούχους πολλοὺς συνειλεγμένους ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολλὴ ἀθυμία ἦν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ὁρῶσι<sup>58a</sup> μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν δυσπορίαν, ὁρῶσι δὲ τοὺς διαβαίνειν κωλύοντας, ὁρῶσι δὲ τοῖς διαβαίνουσιν ἐπικεισομένους τοὺς Καρδούχους ὀπισθεν. 8. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἔμειναν ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ ὄντες. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ὄναρ εἶδεν· ἔδοξεν ἐν πέδαις δεδέσθαι, αὐταὶ<sup>43a, 06c</sup> δὲ αὐτῷ αὐτόματα περιρρυῆναι, ὥστε λυθῆναι<sup>49a</sup> καὶ διαβαίνειν ὅποσον ἐβούλετο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὄρθρος ἦν, ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσοφον καὶ λέγει, ὅτι ἐλπίδας ἔχει<sup>43b</sup> καλῶς ἔσεσθαι, καὶ διηγείται αὐτῷ τὸ ὄναρ. 9. Ὁ δὲ ἦδετό τε καὶ, ὥς<sup>52</sup> τάχιστα ἕως ὑπέφαινε, ἐθύοντο πάντες παρόντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ ἦν εὐθύς ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου. Καὶ ἀπιόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ παρήγγελλον τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι.<sup>44</sup>

*He hears of another ford accidentally discovered. Great rejoicing, and thanksgiving.*

10. Καὶ ἀριστῶντι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι<sup>16</sup> προσέτρεχον δύο νεανίσκω· ἦδεσαν γὰρ πάντες, ὅτι ἐξείη<sup>43b</sup> αὐτῷ καὶ ἀριστῶντι καὶ δειπνοῦντι προσελθεῖν, καὶ, εἰ καθεύδοι, ἐπεγείραντα εἰπεῖν, εἴ τίς τι ἔχοι τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. 11. Καὶ τότε ἔλεγον, ὅτι τυγχάνοιεν φρύγανα συλλέγοντες<sup>59</sup> ὥς ἐπὶ πῦρ, κᾶπειτα κατίδοιεν ἐν τῷ πέραν ἐν πέτραις καθηκούσαις ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν γέροντά τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παιδίσκας ὥσπερ μαρσίπους ἱματίων κατατιθεμένους<sup>43c</sup> ἐν πέτρᾳ ἀνθρώδει. 12. Ἰδοῦσι δὲ σφισι δόξαι ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διαβῆναι·<sup>29a</sup> οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς πολεμίοις<sup>17c</sup> ἱππεῦσι προσβατὸν εἶναι κατὰ τοῦτο. Ἐκδύντες<sup>9</sup> δ' ἔφασαν ἔχοντες τὰ ἐγχειρίδια γυμνοὶ ὥς νευσούμενοι<sup>50a</sup> διαβαίνειν· πορευόμενοι δὲ πρόσθεν διαβῆναι, πρὶν βρέξαι<sup>52a</sup> τὰ αἰδοῖα· καὶ διαβάντες καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ἱμάτια πάλιν ἤκειν.

13. Εὐθύς οὖν ὁ Ξενοφῶν αὐτὸς τε ἔσπενδε καὶ τοῖς νεανίσκοις<sup>17</sup> ἐγχεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ εὐχεσθαι τοῖς φήνασι θεοῖς τά τε ὀνείρατα καὶ τὸν πόρον, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐπιτελέσαι. Σπείσας δ' εὐθύς ἤγε τοὺς νεανίσκους παρὰ τὸν Χειρίσοφον· καὶ διηγοῦνται ταῦτά. 14. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Χειρίσοφος σπονδὰς ἐποίει.

*Arrangements for the crossing. Xenophon remains behind to protect the rear.*

Σπείσαντες δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις παρήγγελλον συσκευάζεσθαι,<sup>44</sup> αὐτοὶ δὲ, συγκαλέσαντες<sup>58b</sup> τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, ἐβουλευόντο, ὅπως<sup>45</sup> ἂν κάλλιστα διαβαῖεν<sup>54b</sup> καὶ τοὺς τε ἔμπροσθεν νικῶεν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπισθεν μηδὲν πάσχοιεν κακόν. 15. Καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς Χειρίσοφον μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ διαβαίνειν ἔχοντα τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὸ δ' ἥμισυ ἔτι ὑπομένειν σὺν Ξενοφῶντι, τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μέσῳ τούτων<sup>25</sup> διαβαίνειν. 16. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καλῶς ταῦτα εἶχεν, ἐπορεύοντο· ἡγοῦντο δ' οἱ νεανίσκοι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες<sup>58i</sup> τὸν ποταμόν· ὁδὸς δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν ὡς τέτταρες στάδιοι. 17. Πορευομένων δ' αὐτῶν<sup>27</sup> ἀντιπαρήεσαν αἱ τάξεις τῶν ἰππέων. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦσαν κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν καὶ τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα· καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτος Χειρίσοφος στεφανωσάμενος καὶ ἀποδὺς<sup>58b</sup> ἐλάμβανε τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγγελλε, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἐκέλευεν ἄγειν τοὺς λόχους ὀρθίους<sup>5a</sup> τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, τοὺς δ' ἐν δεξιᾷ ἑαυτοῦ. 18. Καὶ οἱ μὲν μάντεις ἐσφαγιάζοντο εἰς τὸν ποταμόν· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐτόξευόν τε καὶ ἐσφενδόνων· ἀλλ' οὐπω ἐξικνουῦντο. 19. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καλὰ ἦν τὰ σφάγια, ἐπαιάνιζον πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ἀνηλάζον, συνωλόλυζον δὲ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἅπασαι· πολλαὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι.

*Xenophon hastens back to make a feint of crossing the regular ford ; on which the enemy's forces, in fear of having their retreat cut off, hastily retire, closely followed by the Greek horse.*

20. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἐνέβαινε καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐκείνῳ· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων<sup>21a</sup> λαβὼν τοὺς εὐζωνοτάτους ἔθει ἀνὰ κράτος πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἐκβασιν<sup>8, 5a</sup> τὴν εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὄρη, προσποιούμενος ταύτην διαβᾶς<sup>9</sup> ἀποκλείσειν<sup>48a</sup> τοὺς παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν ἰππεῖς. 21. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, ὀρῶντες<sup>58b</sup> μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον εὐπετῶς τὸ ὕδωρ περῶντας,<sup>48o</sup> ὀρῶντες δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα θέοντας τοῦμπαλιν, δείσαντες, μὴ ἀποκλεισθείησαν,<sup>48a</sup> φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκβασιν ἄνω. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐγένοντο, ἔτεινον ἄνω πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. 22. Λύκιος δ', ὁ τὴν τάξιν ἔχων τῶν ἰππέων, καὶ Αἰσχίνης, ὁ τὴν τάξιν ἔχων τῶν πελταστῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον, ἐπεὶ ἐώρων ἀνὰ κράτος

φεύγοντας, εἶποντο· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐβόων μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι,<sup>44</sup> ἀλλὰ συνεκβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος. 23. Χειρίσοφος δ' αὖ ἐπεὶ διέβη, τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας οὐκ ἐδίωκεν, εὐθὺς δὲ κατὰ τὰς προσηκούσας ὄχθας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξέβαινε ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνω πολεμίους. Οἱ δὲ ἄνω, ὁρῶντες μὲν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἱππέας φεύγοντας,<sup>45</sup> ὁρῶντες δ' ὀπλίτας σφίσιν ἐπιόντας, ἐκλείπουσι τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ<sup>5</sup> ἄκρα.

*Having thus gained his object, Xenophon returns to the newly-discovered ford before the baggage has crossed, and finds the Carduchians prepared to attack his rear.*

24. Ξενοφῶν δὲ, ἐπεὶ τὰ πέραν ἑώρα καλῶς γιγνόμενα,<sup>46</sup> ἀπεχώρει τὴν ταχίστην<sup>10</sup> πρὸς τὸ διαβαίνειν στράτευμα· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καρδοῦχοι φανεροὶ ἤδη ἦσαν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον καταβαίνοντες<sup>50</sup> ὥς ἐπιθησόμενοι<sup>50a</sup> τοῖς τελευταίοις.<sup>16</sup> 25. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν τὰ ἄνω κατείχε, Λύκιος δὲ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπιχειρήσας ἐπιδιώξαι ἔλαβε τῶν σκευοφόρων τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα καὶ μετὰ τούτων<sup>68</sup> ἐσθῆτά τε καλὴν καὶ ἐκπώματα. 26. Καὶ τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ὁ ὄχλος ἀκμὴν διέβαινε, Ξενοφῶν δὲ στρέψας πρὸς τοὺς Καρδούχους ἀντία<sup>5a</sup> τὰ ὅπλα ἔθετο, καὶ παρήγγειλε τοῖς λοχαγοῖς κατ' ἐνωμοτίας ποιήσασθαι<sup>44</sup> ἕκαστον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόχον, παρ' ἀσπίδας παραγαγόντας τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν ἐπὶ φάλαγγος· καὶ τοὺς μὲν λοχαγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐνωμοτάρχας πρὸς τῶν Καρδούχων ἰέναι, οὐραγοὺς δὲ καταστήσασθαι πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ. 27. Οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι ὥς<sup>52</sup> ἑώρων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας τοῦ ὄχλου<sup>24</sup> ψιλουμένους καὶ ὀλίγους ἤδη φαινομένους, θάπτον δὴ ἐπῆρσαν, ὥδ' αὖς τινὰς ἄδοντες.

*Cheirisophus sends some of his light-armed troops to cover their retreat. Xenophon's instructions to them and to his own men.*

Ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος, ἐπεὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ ἀσφαλῶς εἶχε, πέμπει παρὰ Ξενοφῶντα<sup>66</sup> τοὺς πελταστὰς καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας, καὶ κελεύει ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν παραγγέλλῃ.<sup>39b</sup> 28. Ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς διαβαίνοντας<sup>48c</sup> ὁ Ξενοφῶν πέμψας ἄγγελον κελεύει αὐτοῦ μέιναι ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μὴ<sup>62</sup> διαβάντας· ὅταν δ' ἄρξωνται<sup>52</sup> αὐτοὶ διαβαίνειν, ἐναντίους ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν σφῶν<sup>25</sup> ἐμβαίνειν ὥς διαβησομένους,<sup>50a</sup> διηγκυλωμένους<sup>5a</sup> τοὺς ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ ἐπιβεβλημένους τοὺς τοξότας, μὴ πρόσω δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ<sup>21a</sup> προβαίνειν. 29. Τοῖς δὲ παρ' ἑαυτῷ παρήγγειλεν, ἐπειδὰν σφενδόνῃ

ἐξικνῆται<sup>52</sup> καὶ ἀσπὶς ψοφῇ, παιανίσαντας θεῖν ἀεὶ εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀναστρέψωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὁ σαλπιγκτῆς σημήνην τὸ πολεμικόν, ἀναστρέψαντας ἐπὶ δόρυ ἡγεῖσθαι μὲν τοὺς οὐραγοὺς, θεῖν δὲ πάντας καὶ διαβαίνειν ὃ τι τάχιστα ἢ ἕκαστος τὴν τάξιν εἶχεν, ὡς<sup>49a, Obs.</sup> μὴ ἐμποδίζειν ἀλλήλους· ὅτι οὗτος ἄριστος ἔσοιτο, ὃς ἂν πρῶτος ἐν τῷ πέραν γένηται.<sup>48</sup>

*Driving back the Carduchians by a vigorous charge, the Greeks suddenly face round and get across the river before they have recovered from their surprise.*

30. Οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι ὁρῶντες ὀλίγους<sup>5a</sup> ἤδη τοὺς λοιποὺς, πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν μένειν τεταγμένων<sup>21a</sup> ὥχοντο ἐπιμελησόμενοι<sup>50a</sup> οἱ μὲν ὑποζυγίων,<sup>28</sup> οἱ δὲ σκευῶν, οἱ δὲ ἑταιρῶν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐπέκειντο θρασέως καὶ ἤρχοντο σφενδονᾶν καὶ τοξεύειν. 31. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες παιανίσαντες ὥρμησαν δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ὀπλισμένοι, ὡς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ἱκανῶς πρὸς τὸ ἐπιδραμεῖν καὶ φεύγειν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ εἰς χεῖρας δέχεσθαι<sup>30</sup> οὐχ ἱκανῶς. 32. Ἐν τούτῳ σημαίνει ὁ σαλπιγκτῆς· καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι ἔφευγον πολὺ ἔτι θᾶπτον, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες τάναντία στρέψαντες ἔφευγον διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὃ τι τάχιστα. 33. Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οἱ μὲν τινες αἰσθόμενοι πάλιν ἔδραμον ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τοξεύοντες<sup>58f</sup> ὀλίγους ἔτρωσαν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ πέραν ὄντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων<sup>27</sup> ἔτι φανεροὶ ἦσαν φεύγοντες.<sup>59</sup> 34. Οἱ δὲ ὑπαντήσαντες ἀνδριζόμενοι καὶ προσωτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ<sup>25</sup> προϊόντες ὕστερον τῶν μετὰ Ξενοφῶντος διέβησαν πάλιν· καὶ ἐτρώθησαν καὶ τινες τούτων.

## CHAPTER IV.

*The first marches in Armenia. They leave the Tigris behind them. Interview with Tiribazus the satrap, who concludes a truce with them.*

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβησαν,<sup>52</sup> συνταξάμενοι ἀμφὶ μέσον ἡμέρας ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Ἀρμενίας πεδίων ἅπαν<sup>10</sup> καὶ λείους γηλόφους,

οὐ μείον ἢ πέντε παρασάγγας· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐγγὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ<sup>25</sup> κῶμαι διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς Καρδούχους. 2. Εἰς δὲ ἦν ἀφίκοντο κώμην,<sup>40</sup> μεγάλη τε ἦν καὶ βασίλειον εἶχε τῷ σατράπῃ,<sup>17</sup> καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς πλείσταις οἰκίαις τύρσεις ἐπῆσαν· ἐπιτήδεια δ' ἦν δαψιλῇ. 3. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα, μέχρις ὑπερήλθον<sup>52</sup> τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τρεῖς,<sup>14a</sup> παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐπὶ τὸν Τηλεβόαν ποταμόν. Οὗτος δ' ἦν καλὸς μὲν, μέγας δ' οὐ· κῶμαι δὲ πολλαὶ περὶ τὸν ποταμόν ἦσαν. 4. Ὁ δὲ τόπος οὗτος Ἀρμενία ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ πρὸς ἐσπέραν.<sup>8, 5a</sup> Ὑπαρχος δ' ἦν αὐτῆς<sup>25</sup> Τιρίβαζος, ὁ καὶ βασιλεῖ φίλος γενόμενος.<sup>8a</sup> καὶ ὁπότε παρείη,<sup>40b</sup> οὐδεὶς ἄλλος βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν. 5. Οὗτος προσήλασεν ἱππέας ἔχων, καὶ προπέμψας ἑρμηνέα εἶπεν, ὅτι βούλοιτο<sup>43b</sup> διαλεχθῆναι τοῖς ἄρχουσι. Τοῖς δὲ στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀκοῦσαι· καὶ προσελθόντες<sup>58b</sup> εἰς ἐπήκοον ἡρώτων, τί θέλει.<sup>47</sup> 6. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, ὅτι σπείσασθαι βούλοιτο,<sup>43b</sup> ἐφ' ᾧ<sup>49a</sup> μήτε αὐτὸς<sup>9</sup> τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἀδικεῖν, μήτ' ἐκείνους καίειν τὰς οἰκίας, λαμβάνειν τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσων δέοιντο.<sup>48</sup> Ἐδοξε ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ ἐσπείσαντο ἐπὶ τούτοις.

*Winter sets in. Difficulties of the army, with heavy snow falling, and the fear of hostilities stopping them from seeking comfortable quarters.*

7. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τρεῖς διὰ πεδίου, παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα· καὶ Τιρίβαζος παρηκολούθει ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἀπέχων ὥς δέκα σταδίους.<sup>14a</sup> καὶ ἀφίκοντο εἰς βασίλεια καὶ κώμας περίξ πολλὰς, πολλῶν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων<sup>28a</sup> μεστάς. 8. Στρατοπεδευομένων δ' αὐτῶν<sup>27</sup> γίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς<sup>28</sup> χιὼν πολλή· καὶ ἔωθεν ἔδοξε διασκηνῆσαι τὰς τάξεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς κατὰ τὰς χώρας· οὐ γὰρ ἐώρων πολέμιον οὐδένα<sup>64</sup> καὶ ἀσφαλὲς ἐδόκει εἶναι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χιόνος. 9. Ἐνταῦθα εἶχον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ, ἱερεῖα, σῖτον, οἶνους παλαιοὺς εὐώδεις, ἀσταφίδας, ὅσπρια παντοδαπά. Τῶν δὲ ἀποσκεδαννυμένων τινὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγον, ὅτι κατίδοιεν<sup>48b</sup> στράτευμα καὶ νύκτωρ πολλὰ πυρὰ φαίνοιτο. 10. Ἐδόκει δὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διασκηνοῦν, ἀλλὰ συναγαγεῖν τὸ στράτευμα· πάλιν. Ἐντεῦθεν συνῆλθον· καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει συναιθριάζειν. 11. Νυκτερευόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐπιπίπτει

χιών ἄπλετος, ὥστε ἀπέκρυψε<sup>49a</sup> καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κατακειμένους· καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια συνεπόδισεν ἡ χιών· καὶ πολὺς ὄκνος ἦν ἀνίστασθαι.<sup>48d</sup> κατακειμένων γὰρ ἀλεινὸν ἦν ἡ χιών ἐπιπεπτωκυῖα, ὅτῃ μὴ<sup>62</sup> παραρρυεῖη.<sup>40b</sup> 12. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐτόλμησε γυμνὸς ἀναστὰς σχίζειν ξύλα, τάχ' ἂν ἀναστάς τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐκείνου ἀφελόμενος ἔσχιζεν. 13. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναστάντες πῦρ ἔκαιον καὶ ἐχρίοντο· πολὺ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα εὗρίσκετο χρίσμα, ᾧ<sup>19a</sup> ἐχρῶντο ἀντ' ἐλαίου, σύειον καὶ σησάμινον καὶ ἀμυγδάλινον ἐκ τῶν πικρῶν καὶ τερεβίνθινον. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ μύρον ηὑρίσκετο.

*They send out a reconnoitring party, who bring in a captive, from whom they learn that Tiribazus is preparing to attack them as they cross the hills to the Euphrates.*

14. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκει πάλιν διασκηνητέον<sup>81a</sup> εἶναι εἰς τὰς κώμας εἰς στέγας. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ στρατιῶται σὺν πολλῇ κραυγῇ καὶ ἡδονῇ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὰς στέγας καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ὅσοι δὲ, ὅτε τὸ πρότερον ἀπῆσαν,<sup>52</sup> τὰς οἰκίας ἐνέπρησαν,<sup>48</sup> ὑπὸ τῆς αἰθρίας δίκην ἐδίδουσαν κακῶς σκηνοῦντες.<sup>58i</sup> 15. Ἐντεῦθεν ἔπεμψαν νυκτὸς Δημοκράτην Τεμενίτην, ἄνδρας δόντες, ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, ἔνθα ἔφασαν οἱ ἀποσκεδαννύμενοι καθορᾶν τὰ πυρά· οὗτος γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ πρότερον πολλὰ ἤδη ἀληθεῦσαι τοιαῦτα,<sup>13</sup> τὰ ὄντα τε ὡς ὄντα καὶ τὰ μὴ<sup>62b</sup> ὄντα ὡς οὐκ ὄντα. 16. Πορευθεὶς δὲ τὰ μὲν πυρὰ οὐκ ἔφη ἰδεῖν, ἄνδρα δὲ συλλαβὼν ἦκεν ἄγων, ἔχοντα τόξον Περσικὸν καὶ φαρέτραν καὶ σάγαριν, οἷανπερ καὶ Ἀμαζόνες ἔχουσιν. 17. Ἐρωτώμενος δὲ, ποδαπὸς εἶη,<sup>45</sup> Πέρσης<sup>48a</sup> μὲν ἔφη εἶναι, πορεύεσθαι δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Τιριβάζου στρατεύματος, ὅπως ἐπιτήδεια λάβοι.<sup>50</sup> Οἱ δ' ἡρώτων αὐτὸν τὸ στράτευμα, ὅποσον τε εἶη καὶ ἐπὶ τίνι συνειλεγμένον. 18. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, ὅτι Τιρίβαζος εἶη ἔχων τήν τε ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ μισθοφόρους Χάλυβας καὶ Ταόχους· παρεσκευάσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔφη ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, ἥπερ μοναχῇ εἶη<sup>46</sup> πορεία, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιθησόμενον<sup>50a</sup> τοῖς Ἑλλησιν.

*The Greeks resolve to anticipate this attack. At their first appearance the barbarians evacuate their position, and the Greeks return to their camp.*

19. Ἀκούσασι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τὸ στράτευμα συναγαγεῖν· καὶ εὐθὺς φύλακας καταλιπόντες καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ

οὐ μείον ἢ πέντε παρασάγγας· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐγγὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ<sup>28</sup> κῶμαι διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς Καρδούχους. 2. Εἰς δὲ ἦν ἀφίκοντο κώμην,<sup>40</sup> μεγάλη τε ἦν καὶ βασίλειον εἶχε τῷ σατράπῃ,<sup>17</sup> καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς πλείσταις οἰκίαις τύρσεις ἐπῆσαν· ἐπιτήδεια δ' ἦν δαψιλῇ. 3. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα, μέχρῃς ὑπερῆλθον<sup>52</sup> τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τρεῖς,<sup>14a</sup> παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐπὶ τὸν Τηλεβόαν ποταμόν. Οὗτος δ' ἦν καλὸς μὲν, μέγας δ' οὐ· κῶμαι δὲ πολλαὶ περὶ τὸν ποταμόν ἦσαν. 4. Ὁ δὲ τόπος οὗτος Ἀρμενία ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ πρὸς ἐσπέραν.<sup>8, 5a</sup> Ὑπαρχος δ' ἦν αὐτῆς<sup>25</sup> Τιρίβαζος, ὁ καὶ βασιλεῖ φίλος γενόμενος.<sup>8a</sup> καὶ ὁπότε παρείη,<sup>40b</sup> οὐδεὶς ἄλλος βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν. 5. Οὗτος προσήλασεν ἱππέας ἔχων, καὶ προπέμψας ἑρμηνέα εἶπεν, ὅτι βούλοιτο<sup>43b</sup> διαλεχθῆναι τοῖς ἄρχουσι. Τοῖς δὲ στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀκούσαι· καὶ προσελθόντες<sup>58b</sup> εἰς ἐπήκοον ἡρώτων, τί θέλει.<sup>47</sup> 6. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, ὅτι σπείσασθαι βούλοιτο,<sup>43b</sup> ἐφ' ᾧ<sup>49a</sup> μήτε αὐτὸς<sup>9</sup> τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἀδικεῖν, μήτ' ἐκείνους καίειν τὰς οἰκίας, λαμβάνειν τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσων δέοιντο.<sup>49</sup> Ἐδοξε ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ ἐσπείσαντο ἐπὶ τούτοις.

*Winter sets in. Difficulties of the army, with heavy snow falling, and the fear of hostilities stopping them from seeking comfortable quarters.*

7. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τρεῖς διὰ πεδίου, παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα· καὶ Τιρίβαζος παρηκολούθει ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἀπέχων ὥς δέκα σταδίου.<sup>14a</sup> καὶ ἀφίκοντο εἰς βασίλεια καὶ κώμας περίξ πολλὰς, πολλῶν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων<sup>28a</sup> μεστάς. 8. Στρατοπεδευομένων δ' αὐτῶν<sup>27</sup> γίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς<sup>28</sup> χιὼν πολλή· καὶ ἔωθεν ἔδοξε διασκηνῆσαι τὰς τάξεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς κατὰ τὰς χώρας· οὐ γὰρ ἐώρων πολέμιον οὐδένα<sup>64</sup> καὶ ἀσφαλὲς ἐδόκει εἶναι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χιόνος. 9. Ἐνταῦθα εἶχον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ, ἱερεῖα, σῖτον, οἶνους παλαιοὺς εὐώδεις, ἀσταφίδας, ὄσπρια παντοδαπά. Τῶν δὲ ἀποσκεδαννυμένων τινὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγον, ὅτι κατίδοιεν<sup>43b</sup> στράτευμα καὶ νύκτωρ πολλὰ πυρὰ φαίνοιτο. 10. Ἐδόκει δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διασκηνοῦν, ἀλλὰ συναγαγεῖν τὸ στράτευμα πάλιν. Ἐντεῦθεν συνῆλθον· καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει συναιθριάζειν. 11. Νυκτερευόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐπιπίπτει

χιών ἄπλετος, ὥστε ἀπέκρυσεν<sup>49a</sup> καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κατακειμένους· καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια συνεπόδισεν ἡ χιών· καὶ πολὺς ὄκνος ἦν ἀνίστασθαι.<sup>48d</sup> κατακειμένων γὰρ ἀλεεινὸν ἦν ἡ χιών ἐπιπεπτωκυῖα, ὅτῃ μὴ<sup>62</sup> παραρρυεῖη.<sup>40b</sup> 12. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐτόλμησε γυμνὸς ἀναστὰς σχίζειν ξύλα, τάχ' ἂν ἀναστάς τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐκείνου ἀφελόμενος ἔσχιζεν. 13. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναστάντες πῦρ ἔκαιον καὶ ἐχρίοντο· πολὺ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα εὕρισκετο χρίσμα, ᾧ<sup>19a</sup> ἐχρῶντο ἀντ' ἐλαίου, σύειον καὶ σησάμινον καὶ ἀμυγδάλινον ἐκ τῶν πικρῶν καὶ τερεβίνθινον. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ μύρον ηὑρίσκετο.

*They send out a reconnoitring party, who bring in a captive, from whom they learn that Tiribazus is preparing to attack them as they cross the hills to the Euphrates.*

14. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκει πάλιν διασκηνητέον<sup>81a</sup> εἶναι εἰς τὰς κώμας εἰς στέγας. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ στρατιῶται σὺν πολλῇ κραυγῇ καὶ ἡδονῇ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὰς στέγας καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ὅσοι δὲ, ὅτε τὸ πρότερον ἀπῆσαν,<sup>52</sup> τὰς οἰκίας ἐνέπρησαν,<sup>48</sup> ὑπὸ τῆς αἰθρίας δίκην ἐδίδοσαν κακῶς σκηνοῦντες.<sup>58i</sup> 15. Ἐντεῦθεν ἔπεμψαν νυκτὸς Δημοκράτην Τεμενίτην, ἄνδρας δόντες, ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, ἔνθα ἔφασαν οἱ ἀποσκεδαννύμενοι καθορᾶν τὰ πυρά· οὗτος γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ πρότερον πολλὰ ἤδη ἀληθεύσαι τοιαῦτα,<sup>13</sup> τὰ ὄντα τε ὡς ὄντα καὶ τὰ μὴ<sup>62b</sup> ὄντα ὡς οὐκ ὄντα. 16. Πορευθεὶς δὲ τὰ μὲν πυρὰ οὐκ ἔφη ἰδεῖν, ἄνδρα δὲ συλλαβὼν ἤκεν ἄγων, ἔχοντα τόξον Περσικὸν καὶ φαρέτραν καὶ σάγαριν, οἷανπερ καὶ Ἀμαζόνες ἔχουσιν. 17. Ἐρωτώμενος δὲ, ποδαπὸς εἶη,<sup>45</sup> Πέρσης<sup>48a</sup> μὲν ἔφη εἶναι, πορεύεσθαι δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Τιριβάζου στρατεύματος, ὅπως ἐπιτήδεια λάβοι.<sup>50</sup> Οἱ δ' ἡρώτων αὐτὸν τὸ στράτευμα, ὅποσον τε εἶη καὶ ἐπὶ τίνι συνειλεγμένον. 18. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, ὅτι Τιρίβαζος εἶη ἔχων τήν τε ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ μισθοφόρους Χάλυβας καὶ Ταόχους· παρεσκευάσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔφη ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, ἥπερ μοναχῇ εἶη<sup>46</sup> πορεία, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιθησόμενον<sup>50a</sup> τοῖς Ἑλλησιν.

*The Greeks resolve to anticipate this attack. At their first appearance the barbarians evacuate their position, and the Greeks return to their camp.*

19. Ἀκούσασι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τὸ στράτευμα συναγαγεῖν· καὶ εὐθὺς φύλακας καταλιπόντες καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ



τοῖς μένουσι Σοφαίνεταιον Στυμφάλιον, ἐπορεύοντο, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα<sup>5a</sup> τὸν ἀλόντα ἄνθρωπον. 20. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπερέβαλλον τὰ ὄρη, οἱ πελτασταὶ προϊόντες καὶ κατιδόντες<sup>58b</sup> τὸ στρατόπεδον οὐκ ἔμειναν τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἀλλ' ἀνακραγόντες ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. 21. Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀκούσαντες τὸν θόρυβον οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἔφευγον· ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἀπέθανόν τινες τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἵπποι ἤλωσαν εἰς εἴκοσι, καὶ ἡ σκηνὴ ἡ<sup>5a</sup> Τιριβάζου ἑάλω καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ κλίνει ἀργυρόποδες καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ οἱ ἀρτοκόποι καὶ οἱ οἰνοχόοι<sup>9</sup> φάσκοντες εἶναι. 22. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα οἱ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν στρατηγοὶ, ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι τὴν ταχίστην<sup>10</sup> ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, μή τις ἐπίθεσις γένοιτο<sup>50</sup> τοῖς καταλελειμμένοις.<sup>16</sup> Καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνακαλεσάμενοι τῇ σάλπιγγι ἀπήρσαν, καὶ ἀφίκοντο αὐθημερὸν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

## CHAPTER V.

*The march is continued through deep snow, and the Euphrates crossed.*

1. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐδόκει πορευτέον<sup>31a</sup> εἶναι, ὅπη δύναιτο<sup>40b</sup> τάχιστα, πρὶν ἢ συλλεγῆναι<sup>52a</sup> τὸ στράτευμα πάλιν καὶ καταλαβεῖν τὰ στενά. Συσκευασάμενοι δ' εὐθὺς ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες πολλούς· καὶ αὐθημερὸν ὑπερβαλόντες τὸ ἄκρον, ἐφ' ᾧ ἔμελλεν ἐπιτίθεσθαι Τιρίβαζος, κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο. 2. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τρεῖς, παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν, καὶ διέβαινον αὐτὸν βρεχόμενοι<sup>58f</sup> πρὸς τὸν ὀμφαλόν. Ἐλέγοντο δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ πηγαὶ<sup>43a, 0bs.</sup> οὐ πρόσω εἶναι.

*Their sufferings, with the snow a fathom deep and a keen North wind blowing.*

3. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς καὶ πεδίου σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας πέντε καὶ δέκα. Ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐγένετο χαλεπὸς, καὶ ἄνεμος βορρᾶς ἐναντίος ἔπνει, παντάπασιν ἀποκαίων

πάντα καὶ πηγνὺς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. 4. Ἐνθα δὴ τῶν μάντεών τις εἶπε σφαγιάσασθαι<sup>44</sup> τῷ ἀνέμῳ· καὶ σφαγιάζεται· καὶ πᾶσι δὴ περιφανῶς ἔδοξε λῆξαι τὸ χαλεπὸν<sup>8</sup> τοῦ πνεύματος. Ἦν δὲ τῆς χιόνος τὸ βάθος ὀργυιὰ· ὥστε καὶ τῶν ὑποξυγίων καὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων<sup>21a</sup> πολλὰ ἀπώλετο καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα. 5. Διεγένοντο δὲ τὴν νύκτα<sup>14a</sup> πῦρ καίοντες· ξύλα δ' ἦν ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ πολλά· οἱ δὲ ὁψὲ προσιόντες ξύλα οὐκ εἶχον. Οἱ οὖν πάλαι ἤκοντες καὶ τὸ πῦρ καίοντες οὐ προσίεσαν πρὸς τὸ πῦρ τοὺς ὀψίζοντας,<sup>8a</sup> εἰ μὴ μεταδοῖεν αὐτοῖς πυροὺς ἢ ἄλλο τι, εἴ τι ἔχοιεν<sup>38</sup> βρωτόν. 6. Ἐνθα δὴ μετεδίδουσαν ἀλλήλοις ὦν<sup>21a, 4a</sup> εἶχον ἕκαστοι. Ἐνθα δὲ τὸ πῦρ ἐκαίετο, διατηκομένης τῆς χιόνος<sup>27</sup> βόθροι ἐγίγνοντο μεγάλοι ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ δάπεδον· οὗ δὴ παρῆν<sup>29a</sup> μετρεῖν τὸ βάθος τῆς χιόνος.

7. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ὅλην<sup>14a</sup> ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐβουλιμίαςαν. Ξενοφῶν δ' ὀπισθοφυλακῶν καὶ καταλαμβάνων τοὺς πίπτοντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡγνόει, ὃ τι τὸ πάθος εἶη.<sup>45</sup> 8. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶπέ τις αὐτῷ τῶν ἐμπείρων, ὅτι σαφῶς βουλιμιῶσι,<sup>47</sup> κἂν τι φάγωσιν, ἀναστήσονται, περιῶν περὶ τὰ ὑποξύγια, εἴ πού τι ὀρώη<sup>40b</sup> βρωτὸν ἢ ποτὸν, διεδίδου καὶ διέπεμπε διδόντας<sup>5a</sup> τοὺς δυναμένους παρατρέχειν τοῖς βουλιμιῶσιν. Ἐπειδὴ δέ τι ἐμφάγοιεν,<sup>52</sup> ἀνίσταντο καὶ ἐπορεύοντο.

*Cheirisophus and the vanguard find quarters for the night in a village, but the rear have to pass the night without food or fire.*

9. Πορευομένων δὲ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἀμφὶ κνέφας πρὸς κώμην ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ ὑδροφορούσας ἐκ τῆς κώμης πρὸς τῇ κρήνῃ γυναῖκας καὶ κόρας καταλαμβάνει ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἐρίματος.<sup>25</sup> 10. Αὐταὶ ἡρώτων αὐτοὺς, τίνες εἶεν.<sup>45</sup> Ὁ δ' ἐρμηνεὺς εἶπε Περσιστὶ, ὅτι παρὰ βασιλέως πορεύονται πρὸς τὸν σατράπην. Αἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο, ὅτι οὐκ ἐνταῦθα εἶη, ἀλλ' ἀπέχει<sup>47</sup> ὅσον παρασάγγην. Οἱ δ', ἐπεὶ ὁψὲ ἦν, πρὸς τὸν κωμάρχην συνεισέρχονται εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα σὺν ταῖς ὑδροφόροις. 11. Χειρίσοφος μὲν οὖν καὶ ὅσοι ἐδυνήθησαν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, τῶν δ' ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι<sup>62b</sup> διατελέσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἐνυκτέρευσαν ἄσιτοι καὶ ἄνευ πυρός· καὶ ἐνταῦθά τινες ἀπώλοντο τῶν στρατιωτῶν.

*Their miseries—from frost-bite and snow-blindness—are such that they refuse to proceed farther.*

12. Ἐφείποντο δὲ τῶν πολεμίων<sup>21a</sup> συνειλεγμένοι τινὲς καὶ τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἥρπαζον καὶ ἀλλήλοις<sup>16</sup> ἐμάχοντο περὶ αὐτῶν. Ἐλείποντο δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἳ τε διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς χιόνος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς<sup>14b</sup> οἳ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους τοὺς δακτύλους τῶν ποδῶν ἀποσεσηπότες. 13. Ἦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐπικούρημα τῆς χιόνος,<sup>22</sup> εἴ τις μέλαν τι ἔχων πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν πορεύοιτο,<sup>38</sup> τῶν δὲ ποδῶν, εἴ τις κινοῖτο καὶ μηδέποτε ἡσυχίαν ἔχοι καὶ εἰς τὴν νύκτα ὑπολύοιτο. 14. Ὅσοι δὲ ὑποδεδεμένοι<sup>58f</sup> ἐκοιμῶντο, εἰσεδύοντο εἰς τοὺς πόδας οἱ ἱμάντες, καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα περιεπήγνυντο· καὶ ἦσαν, ἐπειδὴ ἐπέλιπε τὰ ἀρχαῖα ὑποδήματα, καρβάτιναι πεποιημένοι ἐκ τῶν νεοδάρτων βοῶν. 15. Διὰ τὰς τοιαύτας οὖν ἀνάγκας ὑπελείποντό τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν· καὶ ἰδόντες μέλαν τι χωρίον διὰ τὸ ἐκλελοιπέναι αὐτόθι τὴν χιόνα<sup>30</sup> εἵκαζον τετηκέναι· καὶ τετήκει διὰ κρήνην τινὰ, ἥ πλησίον ἦν ἀτμίζουσα ἐν νάπῃ. Ἐνταῦθα ἐκτραπόμενοι ἐκάθηντο καὶ οὐκ<sup>63</sup> ἔφασαν πορεύεσθαι.

*Xenophon's efforts to save them from falling into the hands of the enemy.*

16. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, ἔχων ὀπισθοφύλακας, ὥς ᾗσθετο, ἐδεῖτο αὐτῶν<sup>23</sup> πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ μὴ<sup>62a</sup> ἀπολείπεσθαι, λέγων, ὅτι ἔπονται<sup>47</sup> πολλοὶ πολέμιοι συνειλεγμένοι, καὶ τελευτῶν ἐχαλέπαιεν. Οἱ δὲ σφάζειν<sup>44</sup> ἐκέλευον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν δύνασθαι<sup>54b, 55</sup> πορευθῆναι. 17. Ἐνταῦθα ἔδοξε κράτιστον εἶναι τοὺς ἐπομένους πολεμίους φοβῆσαι, εἴ τις δύναιτο, μὴ ἐπίοιεν<sup>50</sup> τοῖς κάμνουσι. Καὶ ἦν μὲν σκότος ἤδη, οἱ δὲ προσήεσαν πολλῷ θορύβῳ ἀμφὶ ὧν<sup>4a</sup> εἶχον διαφερόμενοι. 18. Ἐνθα δὲ οἱ μὲν ὀπισθοφύλακες, ἅτε ὑγιαίνοντες,<sup>58a</sup> ἐξαναστάντες ἔδραμον εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· οἱ δὲ κάμνοντες, ἀνακραγόντες ὅσον ἡδύναντο μέγιστον,<sup>13</sup> τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἔκρουσαν. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι δέισαντες ἦκαν ἑαυτοὺς κατὰ τῆς χιόνος εἰς τὴν νάπην, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐφθέγγετο.

*He wishes to push on, but finds that the army in front has halted.*

*A bivouack in the snow. The disabled are relieved.*

19. Καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ<sup>8a</sup> εἰπόντες τοῖς ἀσθενούουσιν, ὅτι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἤξουσιν<sup>47</sup> τινες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, πορευόμενοι,

πρὶν τέτταρα στάδια διελθεῖν,<sup>52a</sup> ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀναπαυόμενοις<sup>5a</sup> ἐπὶ τῆς χιόνος τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐγκεκαλυμμένοις, καὶ οὐδὲ φυλακὴ οὐδεμία καθειστήκει· καὶ ἀνίστασαν αὐτούς. Οἱ δ' ἔλεγον, ὅτι οἱ ἔμπροσθεν οὐχ ὑποχωροῖεν.<sup>48b</sup> 20. Ὁ δὲ, παριὼν καὶ παραπέμπων τῶν πελταστῶν<sup>21a</sup> τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους, ἐκέλευε σκέψασθαι,<sup>44</sup> τί εἴη<sup>45</sup> τὸ κωλύον. Οἱ δὲ ἀπήγγελλον, ὅτι ὅλον οὕτως ἀναπαύοιτο τὸ στράτευμα. 21. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα<sup>8a</sup> ἠϋλίσθησαν αὐτοῦ ἄνευ πυρὸς καὶ ἄδειπνοι, φυλακὰς οἷας ἠδύναντο καταστησάμενοι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἦν, ὃ μὲν Ξενοφῶν, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας τοὺς νεωτάτους, ἀναστήσαντας ἐκέλευεν ἀναγκάζειν προῖέναι. 22. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Χειρίσοφος πέμπει τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης<sup>8a, 21b</sup> σκεψομένους, πῶς ἔχοιεν<sup>45</sup> οἱ τελευταῖοι. Οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοι ἰδόντες τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενοῦντας τούτοις παρέδοσαν κομίζειν<sup>50b</sup> ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπορεύοντο, καὶ, πρὶν εἴκοσι στάδια διεληλυθέναι,<sup>52a</sup> ἦσαν πρὸς τῇ κώμῃ, ἔνθα Χειρίσοφος ἠϋλίζετο.

*The soldiers are quartered in different villages. Armenian houses and Armenian beer.*

23. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, ἔδοξε κατὰ τὰς κώμας ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι τὰς τάξεις σκηνοῦν.<sup>29a</sup> Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἔμενεν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, διαλαχόντες ὥς ἑώρων κώμας, ἐπορεύοντο ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν<sup>8a</sup> ἔχοντες.

24. Ἐνθα δὲ Πολυκράτης Ἀθηναῖος, λοχαγὸς, ἐκέλευσεν ἀφιέναι<sup>44</sup> ἑαυτόν· καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς εὐζώνους, θέων ἐπὶ τὴν κώμην, ἣν εἰλήχει Ξενοφῶν, καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἔνδον τοὺς κωμήτας, καὶ τὸν κωμάρχην, καὶ πώλους εἰς δασμὸν βασιλεῖ<sup>16</sup> τρεφομένους ἑπτακαίδεκα, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ κωμάρχου ἐνάτην ἡμέραν<sup>14a</sup> γεγαμημένην· ὃ δ' ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς λαγῶς ᾤχετο θηράσων<sup>50a</sup> καὶ οὐχ ἥλω ἐν ταῖς κώμας. 25. Αἱ δ' οἰκίαι ἦσαν κατάγειοι, τὸ μὲν στόμα ὥσπερ φρέατος, κάτω δ' εὐρεῖαι· αἱ δὲ εἰσοδοὶ τοῖς μὲν ὑποζυγίοις<sup>17</sup> ὀρυκταὶ, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι κατέβαινον ἐπὶ κλίμακος. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς οἰκίαις ἦσαν αἶγες, οἶες, βόες, ὄρνιθες, καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα τούτων· τὰ δὲ κτήνη πάντα χιλῶ ἔνδον ἐτρέφοντο. 26. Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ πυροὶ καὶ κριθαὶ καὶ ὄσπρια καὶ οἶνος κρίθινος ἐν κρατῆρσιν· ἐνήσαν δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ κριθαὶ ἰσοχειλεῖς· καὶ κάλαμοι ἐνέκειντο, οἱ μὲν μείζους, οἱ δὲ ἐλάττους, γόνата οὐκ ἔχοντες. 27. Τούτους

δ' ἔδει, ὁπότε τις διψῶη,<sup>52</sup> λαβόντα εἰς τὸ στόμα μύζειν. Καὶ πάνυ ἄκρατος ἦν, εἰ μὴ τις ὕδωρ ἐπιχέοι.<sup>53</sup> καὶ πάνυ ἡδὺ συμμαθόντι<sup>17</sup> τὸ πόμα ἦν.

*The Greeks make the most of their temporary good quarters, and the abundance of good things.*

28. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς κώμης ταύτης<sup>25</sup> σύνδειπνον ἐποιήσατο καὶ θαρρεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε, λέγων, ὅτι οὔτε τῶν τέκνων<sup>24</sup> στερήσοιτο, τήν τε οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἀντεμπλήσαντες τῶν ἐπιτηδείων<sup>26</sup> ἀπίασιν,<sup>47</sup> ἣν ἀγαθόν τι τῷ στρατεύματι ἐξηγησάμενος φαίνεται, ἔστ' ἂν ἐν ἄλλῳ ἔθνει γένωνται.<sup>52</sup> 29. Ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπισχνεῖτο, καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος οἶνον ἔφρασεν, ἔνθα ἦν κατορωρυγμένος. Ταύτην οὖν τὴν νύκτα<sup>14</sup> διασκηνήσαντες οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀφθόνοις πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχοντες τὸν κωμάρχην καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ὁμοῦ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς. 30. Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ<sup>19</sup> Ξενοφῶν λαβὼν τὸν κωμάρχην πρὸς Χειρίσοφον ἐπορεύετο· ὅπου δὲ παρίοι<sup>40</sup> κώμην, ἐτρέπετο πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ κατελάμβανε πανταχοῦ εὐωχουμένους καὶ εὐθυμουμένους, καὶ οὐδαμόθεν ἀφίεσαν, πρὶν παραθεῖναι<sup>52</sup> αὐτοῖς ἄριστον. 31. Οὐκ ἦν δ' ὅπου οὐ παρετίθεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τράπεζαν κρέα ἄρνια, ἐρίφεια, χοίρεια, μόσχεια, ὀρνίθεια, σὺν πολλοῖς ἄρτοις τοῖς μὲν πυρίνοις, τοῖς δὲ κριθίνοις. 32. Ὅποτε δέ τις φιλοφρονούμενός τῳ βούλοιτο ἡγοπιεῖν, εἴλκεν<sup>33</sup> ἐπὶ τὸν κρατῆρα, ἔνθεν ἐπικύψαντα ἔδει ῥοφούντα<sup>9</sup> πίνειν ὥσπερ βοῦν. Καὶ τῷ κωμάρχῃ ἐδίδοσαν λαμβάνειν ὃ τι βούλοιτο. Ὁ δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέχετο, ὅπου δὲ τινα τῶν συγγενῶν ἴδοι,<sup>40</sup> πρὸς ἑαυτὸν αἰεὶ ἐλάμβανεν.

*The interview with the village mayor. The Armenian horses and their snow shoes.*

33. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον πρὸς Χειρίσοφον, κατελάμβανον κακείνους σκηνοῦντας ἐστεφανωμένους τοῦ ξηροῦ χιλοῦ στεφάνοις, καὶ διακονοῦντας Ἀρμενίους παῖδας σὺν ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς στολαῖς· τοῖς δὲ παισὶν ἐδείκνυσαν ὥσπερ ἐνεοῖς ὃ τι δέοι<sup>45</sup> ποιεῖν. 34. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀλλήλους ἐφιλοφρονήσαντο Χειρίσοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν, κοινῇ δὴ ἀνηρώτων τὸν κωμάρχην διὰ τοῦ Περσίζοντος ἐρμηνέως, τίς εἶη ἡ χώρα. Ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν, ὅτι Ἀρμενία. Καὶ πάλιν ἡρώτων, τίνι<sup>17</sup> οἱ ἵπποι τρέφονται. Ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν, ὅτι βασιλεῖ δασμός· τὴν δὲ πλησίον χώραν ἔφη εἶναι Χάλυβας, καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἔφραζεν, ἣ εἶη.

35. Καὶ αὐτὸν τότε μὲν ᾤχετο ἄγων Ξενοφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκέτας, καὶ ἵππον, ὃν εἰλήφει παλαιότερον, δίδωσι τῷ κωμάρχει ἀναθρέψαντι καταθῆσαι, ὅτι ἤκουσεν αὐτὸν ἱερὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ἡλίου,<sup>21</sup> δεδιὼς, μὴ ἀποθάνῃ.<sup>43a</sup> ἑκεκάκωτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας· αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν πώλων<sup>21b</sup> λαμβάνει, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν καὶ λοχαγῶν ἔδωκεν ἑκάστῳ πῶλον. 36. Ἦσαν δ' οἱ ταύτῃ ἵπποι μείονες μὲν τῶν Περσικῶν,<sup>25</sup> θυμοειδέστεροι δὲ πολύ. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ διδάσκει ὁ κωμάρχης περὶ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ὑποξυγίων σακία περιειλεῖν,<sup>44</sup> ὅταν διὰ τῆς χιόνος ἄγωσιν· ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν σακίων κατεδύοντο μέχρι τῆς γαστροῦ.<sup>67</sup>

## CHAPTER VI.

*The Komarch acts as their guide, but Cheirisophus quarrels with him, and he runs away, much to Xenophon's annoyance.*

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἦν ὀγδόη, τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα παραδίδωσι Χειρισόφῳ, τοὺς δ' οἰκέτας καταλείπει τῷ κωμάρχει<sup>16</sup> πλὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ<sup>67a</sup> τοῦ ἄρτι ἡβασκοντος· τοῦτον δ' Ἐπισθένεια Ἀμφιπολίτῃ δίδωσι φυλάττειν,<sup>50b</sup> ὅπως, εἰ καλῶς ἡγήσοιτο, ἔχων καὶ τοῦτον ἀπίοι.<sup>50</sup> Καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ εἰσεφόρησαν ὥς ἐδύναντο πλείστα,<sup>67</sup> καὶ ἀναζεύξαντες ἐπορεύοντο. 2. Ἦγεῖτο δ' οὗτος ὁ κωμάρχης λελυμένος διὰ χιόνος· καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῳ, καὶ Χειρίσοφος αὐτῷ<sup>16</sup> ἐχαλεπάνθη, ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κώμας ἦγεν. Ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν, ὅτι οὐκ εἶεν<sup>43b</sup> ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ. Ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος αὐτὸν ἔπαισε μὲν, ἔδησε δ' οὐ. 3. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐκεῖνος τῆς νυκτὸς<sup>28</sup> ἀποδρὰς ᾤχετο, καταλιπὼν τὸν υἱόν. Τοῦτο δὴ Χειρισόφῳ καὶ Ξενοφῶντι μόνον διάφορον ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἐγένετο, ἢ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος κάκωσις καὶ ἀμέλεια. Ἐπισθένης δὲ ἡράσθη τε τοῦ παιδὸς<sup>28</sup> καὶ οἵκαδε κομίσας πιστοτάτῳ ἐχρήτο.

*Appearance of fresh enemies as they leave the valley of the Araxes.*

4. Μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπορεύθησαν ἑπτὰ σταθμοὺς, ἀνὰ πέντε παρασάγγας τῆς ἡμέρας,<sup>21</sup> παρὰ τὸν Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν, εὖρος<sup>14b</sup> πλεθριαῖον. 5. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ εἰς τὸ πεδῖον<sup>8</sup> ὑπερβολῇ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς Χάλυβες καὶ

Τάοχοι καὶ Φασιανοί. 6. Χειρίσοφος δ' ἐπεὶ κατείδε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ, ἐπαύσατο πορευόμενος<sup>59</sup> ἀπέχων<sup>58b</sup> εἰς τριάκοντα σταδίους, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ κέρας ἄγων<sup>58i</sup> πλησιάσῃ<sup>50</sup> τοῖς πολεμίοις· παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παράγειν<sup>44</sup> τοὺς λόχους, ὅπως ἐπὶ φάλαγγος γένοιτο τὸ στράτευμα.

*Council of war. Cheirisophus and Cleanor vote respectively for leisurely consultation and for immediate attack.*

7. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, συνεκάλεσε στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε· “Οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι, ὥς ὁράτε, κατέχουσι τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τοῦ ὄρους· ὦρα δὲ βουλευέσθαι, ὅπως ὥς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα.<sup>50o</sup> 8. Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ παραγγεῖλαι μὲν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι<sup>44</sup> τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἡμᾶς δὲ βουλευέσθαι, εἴτε τήμερον εἴτε αὔριον δοκεῖ ὑπερβάλλειν τὸ ὄρος.” 9. “Ἐμοὶ δέ γε,” ἔφη ὁ Κλεάνωρ, “δοκεῖ, ἐπὰν τάχιστα ἀριστήσωμεν,<sup>52</sup> ἐξοπλισαμένους<sup>9</sup> ὥς τάχιστα ἰέναι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. Εἰ γὰρ διατρίψομεν τὴν τήμερον ἡμέραν, οἳ τε νῦν ὁρῶντες ἡμᾶς πολέμιοι<sup>8</sup> θαρραλεώτεροι ἔσονται, καὶ ἄλλους εἰκὸς τούτων θαρρούντων πλείους προσγενέσθαι.”

*Xenophon proposes to steal a march on the enemy by a night advance over the hills, abandoning the road.*

10. Μετὰ τοῦτον Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· “Ἐγὼ δ' οὕτω γινώσκω. Εἰ μὲν ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ μάχεσθαι, τοῦτο δεῖ παρασκευάσασθαι, ὅπως ὥς κράτιστα μαχούμεθα.<sup>50o</sup> εἰ δὲ βουλόμεθα ὥς ῥᾶστα ὑπερβάλλειν, τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ σκεπτέον<sup>31a</sup> εἶναι, ὅπως ἐλάχιστα μὲν τραύματα λάβωμεν,<sup>50</sup> ὥς ἐλάχιστα δὲ σώματα ἀνδρῶν ἀποβάλωμεν. 11. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ὄρος ἐστὶ τὸ ὁρώμενον πλέον ἢ ἐφ' ἐξήκοντα στάδια, ἄνδρες δ' οὐδαμοῦ φυλάττοντες<sup>59</sup> ἡμᾶς φανεροί εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ἢ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδόν· πολὺ οὖν κρεῖττον τοῦ ἐρήμου ὄρους καὶ κλέψαι τι πειρᾶσθαι λαθόντας<sup>58i</sup> καὶ ἀρπᾶσαι φθάσαντας, ἣν δυνώμεθα, μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἰσχυρὰ χωρία καὶ ἄνδρας παρεσκευασμένους μάχεσθαι. 12. Πολὺ γὰρ ῥᾶον ὀρθιον ἀμαχεῖ ἰέναι ἢ ὁμαλές, ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν πολεμίων ὄντων,<sup>27</sup> καὶ νύκτωρ ἀμαχεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν ὁρῶν<sup>54b</sup> τις ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν μαχόμενος, καὶ ἡ τραχεῖα τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμαχεῖ ἰοῦσιν εὐμενεστέρα ἢ ὁμαλὴ τὰς κεφαλὰς βαλλομένοις.<sup>17</sup> 13. Καὶ κλέψαι δ' οὐκ ἀδύνατόν μοι

δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἐξὸν<sup>61</sup> μὲν νυκτὸς ἰέναι, ὥς<sup>49a, Obs.</sup> μὴ ὁρᾶσθαι, ἐξὸν δὲ ἀπελθεῖν τοσοῦτον, ὥς μὴ αἰσθησιν παρέχειν. Δοκοῦμεν<sup>48a, Obs.</sup> δ' ἂν μοι, ταύτῃ προσποιούμενοι προσβάλλειν, ἐρημοτέρῳ ἂν τῷ ὄρει χρῆσθαι· μένοιεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ μάλλον ἄθροοι οἱ πολέμιοι.

*'But it is not for him to give lessons in "stealing:" Cheirisophus and his fellow Spartans ought to be adepts in that if the Spartan education has been successful.' To which Cheirisophus replies by a rap at the propensity of Athenian demagogues for feathering their own nests.*

14. Ἀτὰρ τί ἐγὼ περὶ κλοπῆς συμβάλλομαι; ὑμᾶς γὰρ ἔγωγε, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἀκούω τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὅσοι ἐστὲ τῶν ὁμοίων,<sup>21</sup> εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων κλέπτειν μελετᾶν,<sup>48a</sup> καὶ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καλὸν κλέπτειν ὅσα μὴ κωλύει νόμος. 15. Ὅπως δὲ ὥς κράτιστα κλέπτητε καὶ πειρᾶσθε λανθάνειν, νόμιμον ἄρα ὑμῖν ἐστίν, ἐὰν ληφθῆτε κλέπτοντες,<sup>59</sup> μαστιγοῦσθαι. Νῦν οὖν μάλα σοι καιρὸς ἐστίν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν παιδείαν, καὶ φυλάξασθαι μέντοι, μὴ ληφθῶμεν<sup>50</sup> κλέπτοντες τοῦ ὄρους, ὥς μὴ πληγὰς λάβωμεν."

16. "'Αλλὰ μέντοι," ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, "κἀγὼ ὑμᾶς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀκούω δεινοὺς εἶναι κλέπτειν<sup>29c</sup> τὰ δημόσια, καὶ μάλα ὄντος δεινοῦ τοῦ<sup>5</sup> κινδύνου τῷ κλέπτοντι, καὶ τοὺς κρατίστους μέντοι μάλιστα, εἴπερ ὑμῖν<sup>17</sup> οἱ κράτιστοι ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦνται· ὥστε ὦρα καὶ σοὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν παιδείαν."

*Xenophon proposes to lead this side-march, but Cheirisophus, apparently out of temper, sends volunteers.*

17. "Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν," ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, "ἕτοιμός εἰμι τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἔχων, ἐπειδὰν δειπνήσωμεν, ἰέναι καταληψόμενος<sup>50a</sup> τὸ ὄρος. Ἐχω δὲ καὶ ἡγεμόνας· οἱ γὰρ γυμνήτες τῶν ἐπομένων ἡμῖν κλωπῶν<sup>21a</sup> ἔλαβόν τινας ἐνεδρεύσαντες· τούτων<sup>23</sup> καὶ πυνθάνομαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἄβατόν ἐστι τὸ ὄρος, ἀλλὰ νέμεται αἰξὶ καὶ βουσίν· ὥστε, ἐάνπερ ἅπαξ λάβωμέν<sup>53b</sup> τι τοῦ ὄρους, βατὰ καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἔσται. 18. Ἐλπίζω δὲ οὐδὲ τοὺς πολεμίους μενεῖν<sup>43a</sup> ἔτι, ἐπειδὰν ἴδωσιν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων· οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν ἐθέλουσι καταβαίνειν εἰς τὸ ἴσον ἡμῖν."<sup>16</sup> 19. Ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπε· "Καὶ τί δεῖ σὲ ἰέναι καὶ λιπεῖν τὴν ὀπισθοφυλακίαν; ἀλλὰ ἄλλους πέμψον, ἂν μὴ τινες ἐθελούσιοι φαίνωνται." 20. Ἐκ τούτου Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεὺς ἔρχεται ὀπλίτας ἔχων, καὶ Ἀριστέας ὁ Χῖος γυμνήτας, καὶ Νικόμαχος Οἰταῖος



γυμνήτας· καὶ σύνθημα ἐποιήσαντο, ὅποτε ἔχοιεν<sup>48</sup> τὰ ἄκρα, πυρὰ καίεν πολλά. 21. Ταῦτα συνθέμενοι ἡρίστων· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀρίστου προήγαγεν ὁ Χειρίσοφος τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ὡς δέκα σταδίους πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅπως ὡς μάλιστα δοκοίη<sup>50</sup> ταύτῃ προσάξειν.

*Xenophon's tactics are successful. The enemy, after a short struggle with the volunteers, fall back, and the Greeks make good their passage.*

22. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδείπνησαν<sup>52</sup> καὶ νύξ ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν ταχθέντες ἀπήρχοντο, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὸ ὄρος· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι αὐτοῦ ἀνεπαύοντο. Οἱ δὲ παλέμιοι, ἐπεὶ ᾗσθοντο ἐχόμενον<sup>43</sup> τὸ ὄρος, ἐγρηγόρεσαν καὶ ἔκαιον πυρὰ πολλὰ διὰ νυκτός. 23. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, Χειρίσοφος μὲν θυσάμενος ἦγε κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν, οἱ δὲ τὸ ὄρος καταλαβόντες<sup>54</sup> κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα ἐπήεσαν. 24. Τῶν δ' αὖ πολεμίων τὸ μὲν πολὺ ἔμενεν ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὄρους, μέρος δ' αὐτῶν ἀπὴντα τοῖς<sup>16</sup> κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα. Πρὶν δὲ ὁμοῦ εἶναι<sup>52</sup> τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀλλήλοις συμμιγνύασιν οἱ κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα, καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ διώκουσιν. 25. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δρόμῳ ἔθεον πρὸς τοὺς παρατεταγμένους, Χειρίσοφος δὲ βάδην ταχὺ ἐφείπετο σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις. 26. Οἱ δὲ παλέμιοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἄνω ἑώρων ἡττώμενον,<sup>48</sup> φεύγουσι· καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν οὗ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, γέρρα δὲ πάμπολλα ἐλήφθη, ἃ οἱ Ἕλληνες ταῖς μαχαίραις<sup>19</sup> κόπτοντες ἀχρεῖα ἐποίουν. 27. Ὡς δ' ἀνέβησαν, θύσαντες καὶ τρόπαιον στησάμενοι κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ εἰς κώμας πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν<sup>26</sup> γεμούσας ἦλθαν.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Fresh difficulties in the land of the Taochi, who hoard up their provisions in their mountain strongholds, from which they roll down stones on the besiegers.*

1. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Τάχους σταθμοὺς πέντε, παρασάγγας τριάκοντα· καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπέλιπε·<sup>12</sup> χωρία γὰρ ᾤκουν ἰσχυρὰ οἱ Τάοχοι, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πάντα εἶχον ἀνακεκομισμένοι. 2. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκοντο πρὸς χωρίον, ὃ<sup>48</sup> πόλιν

μὲν οὐκ εἶχεν, οὐδ' οἰκίας, συνεληλυθότες δ' ἦσαν αὐτόσε καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ κτήνη πολλὰ, Χειρίσοφος μὲν πρὸς τοῦτο προσέβαλλεν εὐθὺς ἤκων.<sup>58b</sup> ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ πρώτη τάξις ἀπέκαμνεν, ἄλλη προσήει καὶ αὐθις ἄλλη· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀθρόοις<sup>18</sup> περιστῆναι, ἀλλὰ ποταμὸς ἦν κύκλω. 3. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἦλθε σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξι καὶ πελτασταῖς καὶ ὀπλίταις, ἐνταῦθα δὴ λέγει Χειρίσοφος· “Εἰς καλὸν ἤκετε· τὸ γὰρ χωρίον αἰρετέον.<sup>31</sup> τῇ γὰρ στρατιᾷ<sup>17b</sup> οὐκ ἔστι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ μὴ ληψόμεθα τὸ χωρίον.” 4. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ κοινῇ ἐβουλευόντο· καὶ τοῦ Ξενοφώντος ἐρωτῶντος,<sup>27</sup> τί τὸ κωλύον εἶη εἰσελθεῖν,<sup>29a</sup> εἶπεν ὁ Χειρίσοφος· “[Ἀλλὰ] μία αὕτη πάροδος ἐστίν, ἣν ὁρᾷς· ὅταν δέ τις ταύτη πειράται<sup>39b</sup> παριέναι, κυλινδοῦσι λίθους ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς ὑπερεχούσης πέτρας· ὅς δ' ἂν καταληφθῇ, οὕτω διατίθεται.” Ἀμα δ' ἔδειξε συντετριμμένους ἀνθρώπους καὶ σκέλη<sup>14b</sup> καὶ πλευράς.

*Xenophon's device to wear out the foe.*

5. “Ἦν δὲ καὶ τοὺς λίθους ἀναλώσωσιν,”<sup>38</sup> ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, “ἄλλο τι ἢ οὐδὲν κωλύει παριέναι; Οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ὀρῶμεν, εἰ μὴ ὀλίγους τούτους ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τούτων δύο ἢ τρεῖς ὀπλισμένους. 6. Τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ὡς καὶ σὺ ὁρᾷς, σχεδὸν τρία ἡμίπλεθρά ἐστίν, ὃ δεῖ βαλλομένους<sup>58f</sup> διελθεῖν. Τούτου δὲ ὅσον πλέθρον δασὺ πίτυσι διαλειπούσαις μεγάλαις, ἀνθ' ὧν ἐστηκότες<sup>58c</sup> ἄνδρες τί ἂν πάσχοιεν ἢ ὑπὸ<sup>41a</sup> τῶν φερομένων λίθων ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν κυλινδουμένων; Τὸ λοιπὸν οὖν ἤδη γίγνεται ὡς ἡμίπλεθρον, ὃ δεῖ, ὅταν λωφήσωσιν<sup>33</sup> οἱ λίθοι, παραδραμεῖν.” 7. “Ἀλλὰ εὐθύς,” ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, “ἐπειδὴν ἀρξώμεθα εἰς τὸ δασὺ προσιέναι, φέρονται οἱ λίθοι πολλοί.” “Αὐτὸ ἂν,” ἔφη, “τὸ δέον εἶη.<sup>54b</sup> θᾶπτον γὰρ ἀναλώσουσι τοὺς λίθους. Ἀλλὰ πορευώμεθα<sup>54d, 1</sup> ἐνθεν ἡμῖν μικρόν τι παραδραμεῖν ἔσται, ἣν δυνώμεθα, καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ῥᾶδιον, ἣν βουλώμεθα.”

*By frequent feints of advance, the Greek soldiers exhaust the supply of stones.*

8. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο Χειρίσοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ Καλλίμαχος Παρράσιος, λοχαγός· τούτου<sup>21</sup> γὰρ ἡ ἡγεμονία ἦν τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγῶν<sup>22</sup> ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι λοχαγοὶ ἔμενον ἐν τῇ ἀσφαλεῇ. Μετὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἀπῆλθον ὑπὸ τὰ δένδρα<sup>66</sup> ἄνθρωποι ὡς ἐβδομήκοντα, οὐκ ἀθρόοι, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἓνα, ἕκαστος<sup>3</sup>

φυλαττόμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο. 9. Ἀγασίας δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος καὶ Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεὺς, καὶ οὗτοι τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγοὶ ὄντες, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ ὑφίστασαν ἔξω τῶν δένδρων· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσφαλῶς ἐν τοῖς δένδροις ἐστάναι πλεῖον ἢ τὸν ἓνα λόχον. 10. Ἐνθα δὴ Καλλίμαχος μηχανᾶται τι· προέτρεχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δένδρου, ὑφ' ᾧ ἦν αὐτὸς, δύο καὶ τρία βήματα· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ λίθοι φέροντο,<sup>52</sup> ἀνεχάζετο εὐπετῶς· ἐφ' ἐκάστης δὲ προδρομῆς πλεόν ἢ δέκα ἅμαξαι πετρῶν ἀνηλίσκοντο.

*Emulation of the Greeks, who finally take the place; men and women throwing themselves down from the rocks rather than fall into their hands.*

11. Ὁ δὲ Ἀγασίας, ὡς<sup>52</sup> ὀρᾷ τὸν Καλλίμαχον ἃ ἐποίει, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν θεώμενον,<sup>43c</sup> δείσας, μὴ οὐ πρῶτος παραδράμῃ<sup>43d</sup> εἰς τὸ χωρίον, οὐδὲ τὸν Ἀριστώνυμον πλησίον ὄντα παρακαλέσας, οὐδὲ Εὐρύλοχον τὸν Λουσιέα, ἐταίρους ὄντας,<sup>53d</sup> οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα, χωρεῖ αὐτὸς, καὶ παρέρχεται πάντας. 12. Ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχος, ὡς ἑώρα αὐτὸν παριόντα, ἐπιλαμβάνεται αὐτοῦ τῆς ἵτιος·<sup>23</sup> ἐν δὲ τούτῳ παρέθει αὐτοὺς Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεὺς, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Εὐρύλοχος Λουσιεύς· πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι ἀντεποιοῦντο ἀρετῆς καὶ διηγωνίζοντο<sup>41b.3</sup> πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ οὕτως ἐρίζοντες αἰροῦσι τὸ χωρίον. Ὡς γὰρ ἅπαξ εἰσέδραμον, οὐδεὶς πέτρος ἄνωθεν ἤνεχθη. 13. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ δεινὸν ἦν θέαμα· αἱ γὰρ γυναῖκες ῥιπτοῦσαι τὰ παιδιά εἶτα καὶ ἑαυτὰς ἐπικατερρίπτουν,<sup>32</sup> καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ὡσαύτως. Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ Αἰνείας Στυμφάλιος, λοχαγὸς, ἰδὼν τινα θέοντα ὡς ῥίψοντα<sup>50a</sup> ἑαυτὸν, στολὴν ἔχοντα καλὴν, ἐπιλαμβάνεται ὡς κωλύσων. 14. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπισπᾶται, καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ᾧ ᾗ ᾔχοντο κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν φερόμενοι καὶ ἀπέθανον. Ἐντεῦθεν ἄνθρωποι μὲν πάνυ ὀλίγοι ἐλήφθησαν, βόες δὲ καὶ ὄνοι πολλοὶ καὶ πρόβατα.

*After this they come to the Chalybes. Their armour and their tactics.*

15. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Χαλύβων σταθμοὺς ἑπτὰ, παρασάγγας πεντήκοντα. Οὗτοι ἦσαν ὧν<sup>4a</sup> διήλθον ἀλκιμώτατοι, καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἦσαν. Εἶχον δὲ θώρακας λινούς μέχρι τοῦ ἥτρου,<sup>67a</sup> ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πτερύγων σπάρτα πυκνὰ ἐστραμμένα. 16. Εἶχον δὲ καὶ κνημίδας καὶ κράνη καὶ παρὰ τὴν ζώνην μαχαίριον ὅσον ξυήλην Λακωνικὴν, ᾧ ἔσφαττον ὧν κρατεῖν

δύναιντο· καὶ ἀποτέμνοντες ἂν τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔχοντες ἐπορεύοντο.<sup>53a, Obs.</sup> καὶ ἦδον καὶ ἐχόρευον, ὅποτε οἱ πολέμιοι αὐτοὺς ὄψεσθαι<sup>41b, Obs.</sup> ἔμελλον. Εἶχον δὲ καὶ δόρυ ὥς πεντεκαίδεκα πηχῶν,<sup>25a</sup> μίαν λόγχην ἔχον. 17. Οὗτοι ἐνέμενον ἐν τοῖς πολίσμασιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέλθοιεν<sup>40b</sup> οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἶποντο ἀεὶ μαχοῦμενοι.<sup>50a</sup> ᾤκουν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὄχυροῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐν τούτοις ἀνακεκομισμένοι ἦσαν· ὥστε μηδὲν<sup>62a</sup> λαμβάνειν<sup>49a</sup> αὐτόθεν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλὰ διетράφησαν τοῖς κτήνεσιν, ἃ ἐκ τῶν Ταόχων ἔλαβον.

*After a march along the valley of the Harpasus, they come to a city named Gymnias. A guide is given them to lead them through an enemy's territory, and brings them to a mountain from which they can see the sea.*

18. Ἐκ τούτου οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ Ἀρπασον ποταμὸν, εὖρος τεττάρων πλέθρων. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Σκυθινῶν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας, παρασάγγας εἴκοσι, διὰ πεδίου εἰς κώμας· ἐν αἷς ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς<sup>14a</sup> καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο. 19. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἦλθον σταθμοὺς τέτταρας, παρασάγγας εἴκοσι, πρὸς πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα καὶ οἰκουμένην, ἣ ἐκαλεῖτο Γυμνίας. Ἐκ ταύτης τῆς χώρας ὁ ἄρχων τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἡγεμόνα πέμπει, ὅπως διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν πολεμίας χώρας ἄγοι<sup>32a, 50</sup> αὐτούς. 20. Ἐλθὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος λέγει, ὅτι ἄξει<sup>47</sup> αὐτοὺς εἰς χωρίον, ὅθεν [πέντε ἡμερῶν<sup>28</sup>] ὄψονται<sup>49b</sup> θάλατταν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τεθνάναι ἐπηγγείλατο. Καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐπεὶ ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῖς πολεμίαν, παρεκελεύετο αἰθεῖν<sup>44</sup> καὶ φθείρειν τὴν χώραν· ᾧ<sup>19a</sup> καὶ δῆλον ἐγένετο, ὅτι τούτου<sup>67a</sup> ἕνεκα ἔλθοι, οὐ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίας. 21. Καὶ ἀφικνουῦνται ἐπὶ τὸ [ἱερὸν] ὄρος τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· ὄνομα δὲ τῷ ὄρει ἦν Θήχης.

*Their cries are taken at first for the shouts of an attacking foe. Xenophon hurries forward to the rescue but soon finds his mistake.*

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο<sup>33</sup> ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους καὶ κατεῖδον τὴν θάλατταν, κραυγὴ πολλὴ ἐγένετο. 22. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες ψήθησαν ἔμπροσθεν ἄλλους ἐπιτίθεσθαι<sup>32</sup> πολεμίους· εἶποντο γὰρ ὀπισθεν ἐκ τῆς καιομένης χώρας, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες ἀπέκτεινάν τέ τινας καὶ ἐξώγρησαν, ἐνέδραν ποιησάμενοι, καὶ γέρρα ἔλαβον δασειῶν βοῶν ὠμοβόεια ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσιν.

23. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ βοὴ πλείων τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ἐγγύτερον, καὶ οἱ αἰεὶ ἐπιόντες<sup>8a</sup> ἔθεον δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰεὶ βοῶντας, καὶ πολλῶ<sup>19b</sup> μείζων ἐγίνετο ἡ βοή, ὅσῳ δὴ πλείους ἐγίνοντο, ἐδόκει δὴ μείζοντι εἶναι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι. 24. Καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐφ' ἵππον καὶ Λύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἀναλαβὼν παρεβοήθει· καὶ τάχα δὴ ἀκούουσι βοῶντων<sup>23</sup> τῶν στρατιωτῶν, “Θάλαττα! θάλαττα!” καὶ παρεγγυώντων.

*Great excitement and rejoicing. The guide is dismissed with liberal presents.*

Ἐνθα δὴ ἔθεον ἅπαντες καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἡλαύνετο καὶ οἱ ἵπποι. 25. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ περιέβαλλον ἀλλήλους καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς δακρύοντες. Καὶ ἐξαπίνης, ὅτου δὴ παρεγγυήσαντος,<sup>27</sup> οἱ στρατιῶται φέρουσι λίθους καὶ ποιοῦσι κολωνὸν μέγαν. 26. Ἐνταῦθα ἀνετίθεσαν δερμάτων πλήθος ὠμοβοϊνῶν καὶ βακτήριας καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα γέρρα, καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν αὐτός τε κατέτεμνε<sup>32</sup> τὰ γέρρα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις διεκελεύετο. 27. Μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἡγεμόνα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀποπέμπουσι δῶρα δόντες ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, ἵππον καὶ φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν καὶ σκευὴν Περσικὴν καὶ δαρεικοὺς δέκα· ἧται δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς δακτυλίους, καὶ ἔλαβε πολλοὺς παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. Κώμην δὲ δείξας αὐτοῖς, οὗ σκηνήσουσι,<sup>50c</sup> καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν, ἣν πορεύσονται εἰς Μάκρωνας, ἐπεὶ ἑσπέρα ἐγένετο, ὥχετο τῆς νυκτὸς<sup>28</sup> ἀπιών.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*In their descent they come to a border river which they find defended.*

1. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες διὰ Μακρόνων σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας δέκα. Τῇ πρώτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ<sup>19c</sup> ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν, ὃς ὠριζε τὴν τῶν Μακρόνων<sup>8a</sup> καὶ τὴν τῶν Σκυθινῶν. 2. Εἶχον δ' ὑπὲρ δεξιῶν χωρίον οἷον χαλεπώτατον καὶ ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς ἄλλον ποταμὸν, εἰς ὃν ἐνέβαλλεν ὁ ὀρίζων, δι' οὗ ἔδει διαβῆναι. Ἦν δὲ οὗτος δασὺς δένδρεσι<sup>19a</sup> παχέσι μὲν οὐ,

πυκνοῖς δέ. Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ προσῆλθον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔκοπτον, σπεύδοντες ὡς τάχιστα<sup>57</sup> ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ἐξελθεῖν.<sup>58a</sup> 3. Οἱ δὲ Μάκρωνες ἔχοντες γέρρα καὶ λόγχας καὶ τριχίνους χιτῶνας καταντιπέραν τῆς διαβάσεως<sup>58</sup> παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν καὶ ἀλλήλοις διεκελεύοντο καὶ λίθους εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἔρριπτον· ἐξικνουῦντο δὲ οὐ, οὔτε ἔβλαπτον οὐδέν.<sup>54</sup>

*One of the soldiers recognises the language as that of his native country, and enters into conversation with them. They give pledges of friendship.*

4. Ἐνθα δὴ προσέρχεται Ξενοφῶντι<sup>16</sup> τῶν πελταστῶν<sup>21</sup> ἀνὴρ, Ἀθήνησι φάσκων δεδουλευκέναι, λέγων, ὅτι γινώσκοι τὴν φωνὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. “Καὶ οἶμαι,” ἔφη, “ἐμὴν ταύτην πατρίδα εἶναι· καὶ εἰ μὴ τι κωλύει, ἐθέλω αὐτοῖς διαλεχθῆναι.”<sup>38b.8</sup> 5. “Ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν κωλύει,” ἔφη, “ἀλλὰ διαλέγον καὶ μάθε πρῶτον, τίνες εἰσίν.” Οἱ δ’ εἶπον ἐρωτήσαντος,<sup>27</sup> ὅτι Μάκρωνες. “Ἐρώτα τοίνυν,” ἔφη, “αὐτοὺς, τι ἀντιτετάχεται καὶ χρήξουσιν ἡμῖν πολέμιοι εἶναι.” 6. Οἱ δ’ ἀπεκρίναντο· “Ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν ἔρχεσθε.” Λέγειν ἐκέλευον οἱ στρατηγοὶ, ὅτι “Οὐ κακῶς γε ποιήσοντες,<sup>50a</sup> ἀλλὰ βασιλεῖ γε πολεμήσαντες<sup>33</sup> ἀπερχόμεθα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ἐπὶ θάλατταν βουλόμεθα ἀφικέσθαι.” 7. Ἡρώτων ἐκεῖνοι, εἰ δοῖεν αὐτῶν<sup>54b</sup> τούτων τὰ πιστά. Οἱ δ’ ἔφασαν καὶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν ἐθέλειν. Ἐντεῦθεν διδόασιν οἱ Μάκρωνες βαρβαρικὴν λόγχην τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐκείνοις Ἑλληνικὴν· ταῦτα γὰρ ἔφασαν πιστὰ εἶναι· θεοὺς δὲ ἐπεμαρτύραντο ἀμφοτέρω.

*Once more their progress is opposed by the Colchians, stationed at the top of a pass.*

8. Μετὰ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ εὐθὺς οἱ Μάκρωνες τὰ δένδρα συνεξέκοπτον, τὴν τε ὁδὸν ὠδοποιοῦν ὡς διαβιβάζοντες,<sup>57</sup> ἐν μέσοις ἀναμειγμένοι τοῖς<sup>50</sup> Ἕλλησιν· καὶ ἀγορὰν, οἷαν ἐδύναντο, παρεῖχον, καὶ παρήγαγον ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις, ἕως οὗ<sup>52</sup> ἐπὶ τὰ Κόλχων ὄρια κατέστησαν τοὺς Ἕλληνας. 9. Ἐνταῦθα ἦν ὄρος μέγα, πρῶτον δέ· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου οἱ Κόλχαι παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν. Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀντιπαρετάξαντο κατὰ φάλαγγα, ὡς οὕτως ἄξοντες πρὸς τὸ ὄρος· ἔπειτα δὲ ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς βουλεύσασθαι συλλεγεῖσι,<sup>18</sup> ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούνται.<sup>50b</sup>

*Xenophon's advice. Reasons for attacking in columns spread over a greater width than the enemy's line.*

10. Ἐλεξεν οὖν Ξενοφῶν, ὅτι “ Δοκεῖ παύσαντας<sup>9</sup> τὴν φάλαγγα λόχους ὀρθίους ποιῆσαι· ἡ μὲν γὰρ φάλαγξ διασπασθήσεται εὐθύς· τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἄνοδον, τῇ δὲ εὐοδον εὐρήσομεν τὸ ὄρος.<sup>5a</sup> καὶ εὐθύς τοῦτο ἀθυμίαν ποιήσῃ, ὅταν τεταγμένοι εἰς φάλαγγα ταύτην διεσπασμένην ὀρώσιν. 11. Ἐπειτα ἦν μὲν ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τεταγμένοι προσάγωμεν,<sup>53b</sup> περιττεύουσιν ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τοῖς περιττοῖς<sup>19a</sup> χρήσονται, ὃ τι ἂν βούλωνται· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπὶ ὀλίγων τεταγμένοι<sup>58f</sup> ἴωμεν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη θαυμαστόν, εἰ διακοπείη<sup>53e</sup> ἡμῶν ἡ φάλαγξ ὑπὸ ἀθρόων πη καὶ βελῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν ἐμπεσόντων· εἰ δέ πη τοῦτο ἔσται, τῇ ὅλῃ φάλαγγι κακὸν ἔσται. 12. Ἀλλά μοι δοκεῖ ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους ποιησαμένους τοσοῦτον χωρίον κατασχεῖν διαλιπόντας τοῖς λόχοις, ὅσον ἔξω τοὺς ἐσχάτους λόχους γενέσθαι.<sup>49a</sup> τῶν πολεμίων κεράτων· καὶ οὕτως ἐσόμεθα τῆς τε τῶν πολεμίων φάλαγγος<sup>25</sup> ἔξω οἱ ἐσχατοὶ λόχοι, καὶ ὀρθίους ἄγοντες οἱ κράτιστοι ἡμῶν πρῶτοι προσίασιν, ἥ τε ἂν εὐοδον ᾗ,<sup>39b</sup> ταύτῃ ἕκαστος ἄξει ὁ λόχος. 13. Καὶ εἰς τε τὸ διαλείπον<sup>8a</sup> οὐ ῥάδιον ἔσται τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰσελθεῖν, ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν λόχων ὄντων, διακόψαι τε οὐ ῥάδιον ἔσται λόχον ὀρθιον προσιόντα· ἐὰν τέ τις πιέζηται τῶν λόχων, ὁ πλησίον βοηθήσῃ· ἦν τε εἰς πη δυνηθῇ τῶν λόχων ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβῆναι, οὐδεὶς μηκέτι μείνῃ<sup>54b. 1. 3.</sup> τῶν πολεμίων.” 14. Ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίουν ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους.

*The attack is successful, and the Greeks reach the summit.*

Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἀπιὼν<sup>58b</sup> ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἔλεγε τοῖς στρατιώταις· “ Ἄνδρες, οὗτοί εἰσιν, οὓς ὁράτε, μόνοι ἔτι ἡμῖν<sup>16</sup> ἐμποδῶν τὸ μὴ ἤδη εἶναι,<sup>39d</sup> ἔνθα πάλαι ἐσπεύδομεν· τούτους, ἦν πως δυνώμεθα, καὶ ὤμους δεῖ καταφαγεῖν.”

15. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς χώραις ἕκαστοι ἐγένοντο καὶ τοὺς λόχους ὀρθίους ἐποιήσαντο, ἐγένοντο μὲν λόχοι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα, ὁ δὲ λόχος ἕκαστος σχεδὸν εἰς τοὺς ἑκατόν· τοὺς δὲ πελταστάς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας τριχῇ ἐποιήσαντο, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ εὐωνύμου<sup>25</sup> ἔξω, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ μέσον, σχεδὸν ἑξακοσίους ἑκάστους. 16. Ἐκ τούτου παρηγγύησαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἵχῃσθαι· εὐξάμενοι δὲ καὶ παιανίσαντες ἐπορεύοντο. Καὶ Χειρί-

σοφος μὲν καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς πελτασταὶ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων φάλαγγος ἔξω γενόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο· 17. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ὥς εἶδον αὐτοὺς, ἀντιπαραθέοντες οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον, διεσπάρσθησαν καὶ πολὺ τῆς αὐτῶν φάλαγγος ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κενὸν ἐποίησαν. 18. Ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς διαχάζοντας<sup>48</sup> οἱ κατὰ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν<sup>8</sup> πελτασταὶ, ὧν ἦρχεν Αἰσχίνης ὁ Ἀκαρνάν, νομίσαντες φεύγειν ἀνακραγόντες ἔθεον· καὶ οὗτοι πρῶτοι ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀναβαίνουσι· συνεφείπετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν ὀπλιτικὸν, ὧν<sup>25</sup> ἦρχε Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος. 19. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, ὥς ἤρξαντο θεῖν, οὐκέτι ἔστησαν, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ ἄλλος ἄλλη ἐτράπετο.

*Villages on the summit. Poisonous honey and its effects.*

Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀναβάντες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν πολλαῖς κώμαις καὶ τὰπιτήδεια πολλὰ<sup>5</sup> ἐχούσαις. 20. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐδὲν ἦν, ὃ τι καὶ ἐθαύμασαν· τὰ δὲ σμήνη πολλὰ ἦν αὐτόθι, καὶ τῶν κηρίων<sup>21</sup> ὅσοι ἔφαγον τῶν στρατιωτῶν πάντες ἄφρονές τε ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἤμουν, καὶ κάτω διεχώρει αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὀρθὸς οὐδεὶς ἠδύνατο ἵστασθαι· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὀλίγον ἐδηδοκότες σφόδρα μεθύουσιν<sup>18</sup> ἐφύκεσαν, οἱ δὲ πολὺ, μαινομένοις, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν. 21. Ἐκείντο δὲ οὕτω πολλοὶ ὥσπερ τροπῆς γεγενημένης, καὶ πολλὴ ἦν ἀθυμία. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπέθανε μὲν οὐδεὶς, ἀμφὶ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν πῶς ὥραν ἀνεφρόνουν· τρίτῃ δὲ καὶ τετάρτῃ ἀνίσταντο ὥσπερ ἐκ φαρμακοποσίας.

*They reach Trapezus. Preparations for the sacrifice of thanksgiving which they had vowed.*

22. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν δύο σταθμοὺς, παρασάγγας ἑπτὰ, καὶ ἦλθον ἐπὶ θάλατταν εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα,<sup>3</sup> οἰκουμένην ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ, Σινωπέων ἀποικίαν, ἐν τῇ Κόλχων χώρα. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ τὰς τριάκοντα ἐν ταῖς τῶν Κόλχων κώμαις. 23. Κἀντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι ἐληίζοντο<sup>32</sup> τὴν Κολχίδα. Ἀγορὰν δὲ παρείχον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Τραπεζούντιοι, καὶ ἐδέξαντό τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ ξένια ἔδοσαν βούς καὶ ἄλφιστα καὶ οἶνον. 24. Συνδιεπράττοντο γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πλησίον Κόλχων τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ μάλιστα οἰκούντων,<sup>8</sup> καὶ ξένια καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἦλθον βόες. 25. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν θυσίαν, ἣν εὗξαντο, παρεσκευάζοντο· ἦλθον δ' αὐτοῖς ἱκανοὶ βόες ἀποθύσαι<sup>29</sup> τῷ Διὶ



τῷ Σωτῆρι καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἡγεμόσυνα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς, ἃ εὖξαντο. Ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν ἐν τῷ ὄρει, ἔνθα περ ἐσκήνουν· εἵλοντο δὲ Δράκοντιον Σπαρτιάτην, ὃς ἔφυγε παῖς ὦν οἴκοθεν, παῖδα ἄκων κατακτανὼν<sup>58a</sup> ξυήλη πατάξας,<sup>58f</sup> δρόμου τ' ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος<sup>25</sup> προστατῆσαι.

*The sacrifice is followed by games and races which excite great amusement.*

26. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ θυσία ἐγένετο<sup>52</sup> τὰ δέρματα παρέδοσαν τῷ Δρακοντίῳ, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον, ὅπου τὸν δρόμον πεποιηκῶς εἶη.<sup>46</sup> Ὁ δὲ δείξας, οὐπερ ἐστηκότες ἐτύγχανον, “Οὗτος ὁ λόφος,” ἔφη, “κάλλιστος τρέχειν,<sup>29d</sup> ὅπου ἂν τις βούληται.” “Πῶς οὖν,” ἔφασαν, “δυνήσονται παλαίειν ἐν σκληρῷ καὶ δασεῖ οὕτως;” Ὁ δ' εἶπε, “Μᾶλλον τι ἀνιάσεται ὁ καταπεσών.” 27. Ἡγωνίζοντο δὲ παῖδες μὲν στάδιον τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οἱ πλείστοι, δόλιχον δὲ Κρήτες πλείους ἢ ἐξήκοντα ἔθεον, πάλην δὲ καὶ πυγμὴν καὶ παγκράτιον ἕτεροι. Καὶ καλὴ θέα ἐγένετο· πολλοὶ γὰρ κατέβησαν, καὶ, ἅτε θεωμένων τῶν ἐταίρων,<sup>58b</sup> πολλὴ φιλονεικία ἐγίγνετο. 28. Ἔθεον δὲ καὶ ἵπποι καὶ ἔδει αὐτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς ἐλάσαντας ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἀναστρέψαντας πάλιν ἄνω πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν ἄγειν. Καὶ κάτω μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ ἐκυλινδοῦντο· ἄνω δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἰσχυρῶς ὀρθιον μόγισ βάδην ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ἵπποι· ἔνθα πολλὴ κραυγὴ καὶ γέλως καὶ παρακέλευσις ἐγίγνετο αὐτῶν.

## RULES OF GREEK SYNTAX.

*Observation.*—The rules that follow are written, as far as differences of idiom will allow, on the lines of the First Memorial Syntax in the Public School Latin Primer, which it is supposed that the pupil will have learnt. Some few rules, such as those on the Composite Subject, have consequently been omitted.

### *On Agreement.*

1. A Finite Verb agrees with its Subject in Number and Person.

*Exceptions.*—(a) A Plural Subject of the neuter gender is followed by a verb in the singular; ἀβατά ἐστι τὰ ὄρη, 'the mountains are impassable.'

(b) A Dual Subject of the masculine or feminine gender may be followed by a verb in the plural, ὡς εἰδέτην ἀλλήλους ἡ γυνή καὶ ὁ Ἀβραδάτης, ἡσπάσαντο ἀλλήλους.—XEN.

(c) A Singular Subject, implying multitude, may be followed by a plural verb, when the act is done by the individuals and not by the body as a whole, τὸ πλῆθος οἴονται (THUC. i. 20), 'the multitude think.' The following is a good example of the two constructions:—τὸ στράτευμα ἐπορίζετο σῖτον, κόπτοντες τοὺς βοῦς (XEN. *Anab.* ii. i. 6), where the army provided itself with meat, but individual soldiers were the butchers.

(d) The verb is sometimes attracted to the number of the complement.

2. An Adjective or Participle agrees with that to which it is in attribution in number, gender, and case.

*Exc.*—(a) A neuter adjective may be added as predicate to a masculine or feminine noun, when it denotes an essential quality, e.g. ἀσθενέστερον γυνή ἀνδρός, 'a woman is a weaker (creature) than a man.'

(b) The adjective belonging to the subject is sometimes attracted to the gender of the complement, as ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα δύο τείχη (XEN. *Anab.* i. 4. 4), where ταῦτα = αἱ πόλαι.

3. A Substantive agrees in case with that to which it is in apposition.

4. A Relative agrees with its antecedent in number, gender, and person, but in case follows its own clause.

(a) When a Relative would naturally be in the *Accusative* case, and the Antecedent in the Genitive or Dative, the Relative frequently takes the case of the Antecedent. This is called the Relative Attraction. It is only used when the Relative Sentence is purely adjectival, *i.e.* when it simply defines its Antecedent. If the Antecedent is a demonstrative pronoun or adjective, it is in this case often omitted; *σὺν οἷς* (= *σὺν ἐκείνοις οἷς*) *μάλιστα φιλεῖς*.—XEN. *Anab.* i. 9. 25.

(b) A Neuter Relative frequently refers to a sentence as its Antecedent.

(c) The Antecedent is often drawn into the Relative Clause, and takes the case of the Relative; *κατασκευάζοντα ἧς ἀρχοι χώρας*, 'developing the resources of the province which he governed' (= *τὴν χώραν ἧς ἀρχοι*).—XEN. *Anab.* i. 9. 19.

### *The Use of the Article.*

5. The Article, *ὁ, ἡ, τό*, marks the Substantive to which it is prefixed as a definite or known object.

(a) Hence, if an adjective be attached as an attributive *epithet* to define a noun with the Article, it must immediately follow the article, or have the article repeated with it; otherwise it becomes an attributive *complement*; *ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς* or *ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας*, 'the great king; ' *μέγας ὁ βασιλεὺς*, 'the king is great.'

So the Article distinguishes the Subject from the Predicate; *καλὸς ἐστὶν ὁ παῖς*, 'the lad is handsome,' *καλὸς ἐστὶ παῖς*, 'he is a handsome lad.'

(b) By this use of the Article a simple sentence may be made to contain two predications, one concerning the subject, the other concerning the object, or some other noun in an oblique case. Such a sentence may often best be translated by the use of a relative clause, *e.g.* *τοσοῦτον εἶχε τὸ στράτευμα ὁ Κῦρος*, 'so great was the army which Cyrus had.' A predicate which thus refers to an oblique case is called a *tertiary predicate*.

(c) The Adjectives *μέσος, ἄκρος, ἡμις*, and others, are thus used predicatively, where we should use a substantive,—*e.g.* *ἄκρα ἡ χεῖρ*, 'the tip of the hand.' Compare the Latin use of *summus, medius*, etc., L. P. p. 139.

6. The Article distinguishes *individuals*, as different from others of the same class, or as having been before mentioned, or by their qualities or belongings; hence it may frequently be translated by the Possessive Pronoun, as *τὰς χεῖρας ἀνέτεινε*, 'he held up his hands.'

(a) Hence it is always added to *οὗτος, ὅδε*, and *ἐκεῖνος*.

7. The Article *generalises*, or, in other words, puts the individual forward as the representative of its class, ὁ σοφιστής, ὁ διδάσκων, 'the teacher.' It may often be translated by the English indefinite article, e.g. δεῖ τὸν στρατιώτην πείθεσθαι τῷ ἀρχοντι, 'a soldier must obey his officer.'

8. All words which come between the Article and the noun to which it belongs are epithets, and describe the noun.

(a.) Hence the Article is put with adjectives, participles, adverbs, and oblique cases of nouns with or without prepositions, to denote persons and things whose qualities or relations they express, the noun to be supplied being easily understood : e.g. οἱ σοφοί, 'the wise (class of men),' τὸ αἰσχρόν, 'meanness,' οἱ πολιτευόμενοι, 'statesmen,' οἱ νῦν, 'the present generation,' οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Κῦρον, 'Cyrus' company.'

A Participle with the Article is generally best translated by a Relative Clause, as ὁ λύων, 'the man who is loosing,' τὸν βασιλεύοντα Ἀρταξέρξην, 'Artaxerxes, who was king.'

### *The Cases.*

9. The Subject and the Complement of a Finite Verb are put in the Nominative case; the Subject and the Complement to an Infinitive are generally put in the Accusative (cf. § 19).

But where the infinitive and the principal verb have the same subject, the Nominative is retained throughout; as οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸς ἀλλὰ Νικίαν στρατηγεῖν, 'he said that not he, but Nicias was general.'

### *The Accusative.*

10. The Accusative denotes the limit towards which, or the space over which, a thing moves, or an action is directed, or describes the action that is done. It is the case of the nearer object.

11. Transitive Verbs govern an Accusative of the object.

12. Factitive Verbs, as of making, calling, thinking, have a second Accusative of the Complement. See § 5 (b). Δαρεῖος Κῦρον σατράπην ἐποίησε, 'Darius made Cyrus satrap.'—XEN. *Anab.* i. 1. 2.

13. In Greek any Verb, transitive or intransitive, with the exception of Substantive verbs, can take an Accusative of its own *contents*, which is sometimes called an *Accusative of kindred meaning*, or an *Accusative of the action of the verb*. In the case of transitive verbs, this Accusative is retained in the passive, e.g. ταῦτά σε ἥδίκηκα, 'I have done you this wrong;' passive, ταῦτα σὺ ἥδίκησαι. With intransitive verbs, it sometimes becomes the subject to a passive form, πολλά σὺ ἡμάρτηκας, 'you have committed many blunders;' passive, πολλά ἡμάρτηται σοι, or ὑπὸ σοῦ.

- (a) Hence many verbs of asking, teaching, concealing, clothing, depriving, etc., take two Accusatives, one of the person, the other of the thing; ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τοὺς οἰκοῦντας Ἕλληνας τὴν γῆν, 'to take away the land from the Greeks who were inhabiting it.' —XEN. *Anab.* i. 3. 4.

14. The Accusative of Extent is used after verbs, participles, and adjectives, to express—

- (a) Measure of space and time, answering to the questions, How far? How long? διεῖχον ἀλλήλων ὥς τριάκοντα στάδια.—XEN. *Anab.* i. 2. 4. ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας πέντε, i. 2. 6.
- (b) The object in respect of which what is stated about the subject is true, i.e. how far it extends (Accusative of Respect), ἀλγῶ τὴν κεφαλὴν, 'I have an aching in the head, a headache.'

### *The Dative.*

15. The fundamental notion of the Dative case is that of nearness and contact. It is the case of the Recipient, and also expresses some relations which are expressed by the Latin Ablative.

16. The Dative of the Recipient follows all words which imply actual nearness, or the bringing of a thing near to body or mind. Such are words which express likeness or unlikeness, agreement and disagreement, advantage and disadvantage, pleasing and displeasing; and verbs of giving, showing, telling, and obeying, and their contraries.

17. The Dative may be added anywhere to mark the person concerned in the doing of an action, or the existence of a quality, or for whose interest the action takes place or the quality exists, e.g. Σόλων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις νόμους ἔθηκε, 'Solon made laws for the Athenians;' τέθνηκα ὑμῖν, 'I am dead as far as your interest in me goes.' To this head belong—

- (a) The Dative of the Personal Pronoun, which refers to the whole sentence rather than to any particular word in it, and is called the Ethic Dative; τί σοι μαθήσομαι, 'what would you have me learn?'
- (b) The Dative with ἔστι, γίγνεται, which implies possession or gain.
- (c) The Dative, used for the case of the Agent after Verbal Adjectives in -τεος and -τος, and after Passive verbs, especially in the Perfect and Pluperfect; the doer of the action being most concerned in the action necessary or possible to be done, and in the fruit of it when completed. ὠφελιγτέρα σοι ἢ πόλις ἐστίν, 'you must help your country,' XEN.; τί πέπρακται τοῖς ἄλλοις; 'what has been done, as far as the others are concerned?'

18. A Dative is sometimes used by Attraction as Complement to an Infinitive which is referred to a word in the sentence, that is in the Dative,

as its subject ; as *εὐδαίμοσιν ὑμῖν ἔξεστι γίγνεσθαι*, 'it is open to you to become prosperous.'

**19.** The Dative takes the place of the Latin Ablative in expressing—

- (a) The instrument, cause, or manner of an action : *τοῖς μήκεσι τῶν ὁδῶν ἀσθενής*, 'weak because of the great distances.'
- (b) The measure of excess or defect : *πολλῷ μείζον*, 'much greater ;'
- (c) The place where (rarely in prose), or the time when, an action occurs : *Μαραθῶνι*, 'at Marathon' (really Locative), *τετάρτῳ ἔτει*, 'in the fourth year.'

### *The Genitive.*

**20.** The idea that underlies the Genitive case is that of detachment or separation. It is the classifying case, or the case of predication, and is in many instances equivalent to an adjective, or to the first member of an English compound noun, as *λόγων ἀγών*, 'a word-contest ;' *κράνος χαλκοῦ*, 'a brazen helmet.'

**21.** The Subjective Genitive denotes the Author or Possessor, or that to which an action or quality belongs, or is natural.

- (a) A Genitive of Partition, or of the thing measured or distributed, is added to numerals and superlatives, and to words of quantity, and also to words which imply *sharing*. *πάντων ἀριστος*, 'bravest of all ;' *μετεδίδosan ὧν εἶχον ἕκαστοι*.—XEN. *Anab.* iv. 5. 6.

- (b) A Partitive Genitive is not unfrequently used in Greek without any governing word (compare the French use of *du, des*).

**22.** The Objective Genitive is added to Substantives and Adjectives, derived from transitive verbs, or containing a transitive idea, and corresponds to the object which the verb itself would govern ; *τούτων ἰδρις*, 'acquainted with these things.'

**23.** The same Genitive is added to all words which imply a physical or mental aim, and to express the object of a sensation or a desire ; *ἤμαρτε τοῦ σκόπου*, 'he missed the mark ;' *ἐπὶ Κρήτης*, 'in the direction of Crete.'

*Ὅδς.*—Verbs of hearing and learning often take a genitive of the person and an accusative of the thing heard ; *ταῦτά σου ἤκουσα*, 'I heard this from you.'

**24.** The Genitive of Ablation is joined to words which imply origin, separation, hindering, depriving, and differing : *διεἶχον ἀλλήλων*, 'they were distant from each other ;' *Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδος γίγνονται παῖδες δύο*, 'of Darius and Parysatis two sons were born.'—XEN. *Anab.* i. 1. 1.

**25.** The Genitive of Relation or Reference is added to comparatives and to words implying superiority or inferiority, dominion and submission : *ἀμείνων τοῦ πατρὸς*, 'better than his father ;' *τῆς χώρας ἀρχεω*, 'to rule over the province.' Also to some adverbs of relative position, as *εἰσω τῆς τάφρου*, 'within the trench.'

- (a) To this head belong the Genitives of Price and Measure : πολλοῦ ἀξίος, 'of great value ;' ποταμὸς εἴρος πλέθρου, 'a river one hundred feet wide.'

26. The same Genitive is added to many adjectives and adverbs and interjections, to point out the person or thing to which they refer. It may often be translated by 'in' or 'in respect of,' e.g. τέλειος τῆς ἀρετῆς, 'perfect in virtue,' οἶμοι τῆς τύχης, 'woe is me for my fortune.'

- (a) It is also added to verbs and adjectives which imply fulness and plenty or their opposites (sometimes called the Genitive of Material) : πληρῆς ἰχθύων, 'full of fish.'

- (b) And to words of accusing, condemning, and acquitting, and of praise and blame, to denote the matter of the charge or commendation : φόνου διώκειν, 'to prosecute for murder.'

27. The Genitive case with the participle (the Genitive Absolute) is used to indicate the circumstances under which an action takes place, or which limit it, and may therefore be classed under this head.

28. Time, and sometimes space, within which, is put in the Genitive case, as τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτός, 'at some point in the following night ;' τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα, 'for the whole of the following night.'

### *The Verb Infinitive.*

29. The Infinitive is the noun-form of the verb, and is inflected by prefixing to it the different cases of the neuter article τὸ. Its oblique cases, when thus inflected, may be governed by prepositions, and may follow most of the constructions which belong to the case. It governs the same cases as the verb finite.

It is used—

- (a) As Subject or Object to another verb, or as Predicate with a copulative verb : ἐξῆν μένειν, 'it was in their power to stay ;' αἰροῦνται πολεμεῖν, 'they choose war.'

- (b) Obliquely, with an accusative of its subject (§ 43).

- (c) Prolatively, in order to define more completely the words to which it is joined. In this sense it corresponds to the use of the Accusative (§ 13) : δεινὸς λέγειν, 'skilled in speaking.'

- (d) Explanatorily, as ἐπέτρεψε τὴν χώραν διαρπάσαι, 'he gave up the country to them to plunder.' This is really consecutive (§ 49).

- (e) In a limiting sense in a few idiomatic expressions, as ὥς εἰπεῖν, 'so to speak ;' ἐκὼν εἶναι, 'if one can help it.'

30. Not only the Infinitive, but the Infinitive with its subject, object, and all its limiting words or phrases, may be preceded by the article τὸ, and the whole treated as a single noun : τὸ δι' ἡμᾶς Πελοποννησίου αὐτοῖς μὴ βοηθῆσαι παρέσχεν ὑμῖν Σαμίων κόλασιν, 'the fact that we prevented the Peloponnesians from coming to their aid left you free to chastise the Samians.'—THUC. i. 41.

**31.** The place of the Latin Gerundive is supplied by the verbal adjective in *-τέος*, which is followed by a Dative of the agent.

- (a) The Gerundive of intransitive verbs is only used impersonally, and is followed by the genitive or dative, when the verb requires those cases : *ἐπιχειρητέον τῷ ἔργῳ*, 'one must attempt the task.'  
 (b) Similarly the Gerundive of transitive verbs is used impersonally and followed by the accusative : *ολοτέον τὴν τύχην*, 'one must bear one's lot.'

### *The Tenses.*

**32.** The Present Tense-Stem denotes continuous or repeated action.

Hence the Present and Imperfect tenses of the Indicative are used when an action is or was going on, or incomplete, or habitual : *γράφει*, 'he is writing ;' *ἐκτεινόν με*, 'they were killing me,' or 'they tried to kill me.'

In the other moods it denotes that the action is continued and not momentary.

- (a) In the Indicative, the Present is used as in Latin, as a graphic historic tense, and has historic sequences (37 a).

**33.** The Aorist-Stem denotes the simple action of the verb. In the Indicative mood it is only used of definite actions in *past* time ; in the other moods it denotes the action as a single whole, without reference to its continuance. So *νοσεῖν* is 'to be sick,' *νοσήσαι* 'to fall sick ;' *θνήσκειν* 'to be on one's deathbed,' *θανεῖν* 'to die.'

But where the Optative or Infinitive, or the Participle of the Aorist, in indirect discourse, or the Participle as the equivalent of a Causal or Temporal Clause (§ 58), represents an original Indicative, it denotes the simple occurrence of an action which is past relatively to the leading verb, as *ἀπῆλθεν ἀτιμασθείς*, 'he went away after being disgraced.'

- (a) A single instance of a repeated action is taken as a specimen of what has happened and may happen again, and so the Aorist is used to express that which past experience shows to happen frequently (the Frequentative Aorist). In this case it may be translated by the English present or by 'is wont to be.'

- (b) The Imperative of the Aorist is not used in prohibitions in the second person, its place being supplied by the Subjunctive.

**34.** The Perfect-stem denotes the completed action, or, more strictly, the state resulting from the completed action, e.g. *κτάομαι*, 'I earn ;' *κέκτημαι*, 'I possess ;' *βουλεύομαι*, 'I deliberate ;' *βεβούλευμαι*, 'I have made up my mind.'

**35.** The Future implies not only future time, but also purpose and intention. There is no Future tense in the Subjunctive Mood, which itself implies a reference to the future, and the Future Optative is only used to represent the Future Indicative in sentences actually or virtually oblique.



(a) There are in the passive voice two Futures.

(1) The Future of the single act formed from the Aorist stem (λυθήσομαι).

(2) The Future of the completed act, formed from the Perfect stem (λελύσομαι) ; which is used sometimes to denote a sudden or immediate result. Cf. XEN. *Anab.* i. 5. 16, νομίζετε ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐμέ κατακεκόψεσθαι, 'I shall be cut down, my fate will be settled, that very day.' This Future is formed in the active voice by the perfect participle with ἔσομαι.

### The Moods.

**36.** There are in Greek four moods, the Indicative, the Imperative, the Subjunctive, and the Optative.

The Indicative states a thing as plain fact; the Imperative expresses direct commands; the Subjunctive and Optative are mostly used in Subordinate Clauses to express a state or action which is contingent or dependent upon some other state or action.

**37.** The Subjunctive refers to present or future time; the Optative is based upon circumstances either past or merely imagined as possible.

(a) Hence the Subjunctive follows those tenses which refer to present time (called principal or *primary* tenses). The Optative follows those which refer to the past time, or *historic* tenses. (Note that the Subjunctive has *primary*, the Optative *historic* endings, and that the Imperative always implies primary time. What is sequence of *tenses* in Latin is sequence of *moods* in Greek.)

**38.** Hence also, in suppositions the Subjunctive denotes that which is practical, and will soon be settled one way or another : ἐὰν ἔχω, 'if I have, which I shall soon know;' the Optative that which is merely possible or conceivable : εἰ ἔχοιμι, 'were I to have, as I may possibly.'

**39.** The Subjunctive is used—

(a) Independently in simple questions to express doubt or deliberation, ποῦ στῶ; 'where am I to stand?' and in the first person in exhortations and commands. This Subjunctive is retained in a dependent clause in primary sequence, but is changed into the Optative when the question becomes dependent upon a past tense, as οὐκ ᾔδew ποῦ σταίην, 'I did not know where to stand.'

(b) Dependently, with relative and conditional particles, generally followed by ἄν, to put a general case, after primary time : ὅς ἄν ταῦτα ποιῇ, 'whoever does this;' ἐὰν ταῦτα γένηται, 'if ever this happens.'

**40.** The Optative is used—

(a) Independently, to express a wish that may be realised.

- (b) Dependently, to express frequency, and to generalise after past time, and so especially after the imperfect: *εἰ μὲν ἐντύχοιέν τισι κρείσσους ὄντες τῶν πολεμίων διέφευγον αὐτοί*, 'if (=whenever) they met any of the enemy, though they were stronger than they, they constantly fled from them.'—THUC. vii. 44.

### *The Voices.*

**41.** There are three Voices in Greek, the Active, the Middle, and the Passive.

- (a) The Active and Passive are used much as in Latin, the Greek equivalent of *a* or *ab* with the ablative of the agent being *ὑπὸ* with the genitive.
- (b) The Middle Voice, which was probably the earliest form of the Passive, is used of *reflexive* action; *i.e.* of action which comes back to the agent, either (1) as interested in the action, *i.e.* as recipient, or (2) as getting the action done, or (3) as having it reciprocated by another.

*Exx.*—(1) *μεταπέμπεσθαί τινα*, 'to send for a person' (to come to one); (2) *διδάσκεσθαι τὸν υἱόν*, 'to have one's son taught'; (3) *διαλύεσθαι πόλεμον*, 'to put an end to a war by mutual treaty'; *διαλέγεσθαι* (which consequently is only used in the middle) 'to converse.'

*Obs.*—The same remark applies to those words which take a middle form for the future, the agent's will being more involved in the future than in the other tenses; as *ἀκούσομαι*, 'I will hear.'

### *The Compound Sentence.*

**42.** A Compound Sentence consists of two or more Simple Sentences connected together, of which one is the principal, the others are subordinate.

Subordinate Sentences are of three kinds, corresponding to the parts of speech whose place they fill in the principal sentence, *viz.*, Substantival, Adjectival, and Adverbial.

### *Substantival Clauses (L. P. p. 141).*

**43.** *Oblique enuntiation* is expressed—

- (a) By the Infinitive, with the accusative of the subject, when it is different from the subject of the principal sentence, but with the nominative when it is the same (see Rule 9), the Future being used after words of promising: *εἶπε Νικίαν στρατηγεῖν*, 'he said that Nicias was general.'

By this construction it is possible at any moment to show that the words or thoughts are not the writer's own, without the use of any introductory phrases such as 'he said,' 'he replied.'

*Obs.*—But with words like λέγεται, δοκεῖ, etc., the personal construction is preferred, e.g. λέγεται Ἀπόλλων ἐκδεῖραι Μαρσύαν, 'it is said that Apollo flayed Marsyas.'

(b) By ὥς or ὅτι, with the Indicative after primary tenses, and with the Optative after historic tenses, after verbs of saying and knowing. ὅτι generally introduces an actual fact, ὥς the speaker's impression or representation of it. *N.B.* Note that the Subjunctive is never used in oblique narration or interrogation unless it represents in primary sequence a Subjunctive in the direct.

(c) By a Participle agreeing with the object, after verbs of knowledge and perception. The nominative is preserved if the participle is predicated of the subject of the principal verb. οἱ Ἕλληνες οὐκ ᾔδεσαν Κῦρον τεθνηκότα, 'the Greeks did not know that Cyrus was dead;' Ἴσθι ἀνόητος ὢν, 'be sure that you lack common sense.'

(d) By the Indicative of past or present time, or the Subjunctive or Optative, according to the tense of the principal verb, of future time, with μή, after verbs of fearing: φοβοῦμαι μὴ τοῦτο γέγρονε, 'I fear that this has happened;'—μὴ γένηται, 'that it may happen;' ἐφοβούμην μὴ γένοιτο. (This is partly final.)

44. *Oblique Petition* is expressed by the Accusative and Infinitive, or the Infinitive alone.

45. *Oblique Interrogation* is expressed by the Indicative after primary, and the Optative after historic tenses, following an interrogative pronoun or particle, direct or oblique (e.g. τίς or ποῦς) or the conjunction εἰ, dependent on a verb of asking, doubting, telling, etc.

46. The Indicative, and the Subjunctive, with or without ἄν, of Subordinate clauses, are preserved in oratio obliqua after primary tenses, but are changed into the Optative without ἄν after historic tenses.

47. In oblique enuntiation and interrogation the moods and tenses of the original direct sentence are often retained, in order to approach more closely to the words of the speaker. (Graphic Sequence.)

### Adjectival Clauses.

48. Adjectival Clauses are introduced by the Relative ὅς or one of its particles, which is followed by the Indicative when it defines an individual by definite actions or qualities; by the Subjunctive with ἄν after Primary, or by the Optative without ἄν after Historic tenses, when it defines a class, or implies a condition.

The relative ὅς, like the Latin *qui* (L. P. § 150), but more rarely, expresses purpose, consequence, or cause. See §§ 49, 50 c, 51.

*Adverbial Clauses.* (L. P., p. 143.)

**49.** *Consecutive Clauses* denote the result of an action, and are introduced—

- (a) By *ὥστε*, which is followed by the Accusative and Infinitive, or the simple Infinitive if the subject is unchanged, when the result is indicated as *natural*, whether it really follows or not; by the Indicative when attention is called to the fact that it does *actually* follow; as, *ἤλαυνον ἐπὶ τοὺς Μένωνος, ὥστε ἐκείνους ἐκπεπλήχθαι* (XEN. *Anab.* i. 5. 13), ‘they charged Menon’s soldiers, so that they were thrown into a panic,’ where the result follows, but no special attention is called to the fact; the charge was sufficient to scare them: *οὐχ ἦκεν ὁ Τισσαφέρνης, ὥστε ἐφρόντιζον* (*Ibid.* ii. 3. 25), where Tissaphernes’ absence was not only enough to make them think, but did make them think, etc.

In the same way *ὅλος, ὅσος*, are followed by the Infinitive, as *οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅλος ταῦτα ποιεῖν*, ‘he is not the man to do this.’

*ὥστε* is also used (as well as *ἐφ’ ᾧ, ἐφ’ ᾧτε*) with the Infinitive, to denote the condition or understanding on which a thing is done, as *συμμαχίαν ἐποίησαντο, ὥστε μὴ στρατεύειν*, ‘on condition that they should not be required to serve.’ (See § 30.)

- (b) by the Relative *ὅς*, or *ὅστις*, or one of its particles, as *τίς οὕτως εὐηθὴς ὅστις ἀγνοεῖ*, ‘who is so simple as not to know?’

*Ὅς*.—In the former case Xenophon often uses the simple *ὥς* for *ὥστε*. The negatives are *οὐ* with the Indicative, *μὴ* with the Infinitive.

**50.** *Final Clauses* denote purpose, and are introduced by *ἵνα, ὥς, ὅπως, μὴ, ἵνα μὴ, ὥς μὴ, ὅπως μὴ*, followed by the Subjunctive or the Optative, according as the verb on which they depend is in primary or historic time.

- (a) Purpose is also expressed as in Latin by the Future Participle, and by the Accusative of the Gerund with the preposition.
- (b) Also by the simple Infinitive after verbs of giving, going, and the like, as *οἶνον ἔδωκα πίνειν*, ‘I gave him wine to drink.’
- (c) The Relative *ὅς* or *ὅστις*, when it expresses purpose, is followed by the Future Indicative, *never* by the Subjunctive: *ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν, ὅστις ἀπάξει*, ‘to lead them back.’—XEN. *Anab.* i. 3. 14.
- (d) A purpose which is beyond attainment because some necessary condition is unfulfilled (Eng. ‘that I might have been’), is expressed by a past tense of the Indicative with *ἵνα, ὥς, or ὅπως*.
- (e) Verbs of precaution and consideration are followed by *ὅπως* or *ὅπως μὴ* with the Future Indicative; *ἐπιμελοῦνται ὅπως μὴ τοιοῦτοι ἔσονται*.—XEN. *Cyr.* i. 2. 3.

By the omission of *ὅρα* or *σκόπει* this becomes hortative: *ὅπως ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες*, ‘see ye be men.’—XEN. *Anab.* i. 7. 3.

**51. Causal Clauses** are introduced by *ὅτι* and *διότι*, sometimes by *ὥς*, *ἐπεὶ*, or *ἐπεὶ δὴ*, followed by the Indicative, the former explaining a fact, the latter connecting cause and effect, or by *ὅς*, *ὅς γε*, *ὅστις*, with the Indicative: *ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ οὐ θέλετε πείθεσθαι, ἐγὼ σὺν ὑμῖν ἔσομαι*, 'since you will not obey me, I will accompany you' (XEN. *Anab.* i. 3. 6). *Κλέαρχον παρεκάλεσε σύμβουλον, ὅς γε ἔδοκει προτιμηθῆναι μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, 'he called Clearchus to his counsel, since he seemed to be the most distinguished of the Greeks.' (Negative *οὐ*.)

**52. Temporal Clauses** are introduced by *ὅτε*, *ὁπότε*, *ἡνίκα*, *ὥς* (when), *ἕως*, *ἕστε*, *ἐν ᾧ* (whilst, as long as), *πρὶν* (before), *ἕως*, *ἕστε*, *μέχρις οὗ* (until), *ἐπεὶ*, *ἐπειδὴ* (after), followed by the Indicative to express a certain known and definite time, past, present, or future; by *ἄν* with the Subjunctive, after Primary tenses to express present or future time of uncertain or repeated acts (whenever); and by the Optative after Historic tenses of uncertain or repeated acts.

(a) *πρὶν*, *πρὶν ἢ*, and *πρότερον ἢ* are generally followed by the Infinitive after affirmations, unless it is wished to denote that the fact took place, when the Indicative is used.

(b) *πρὶν ἄν* and sometimes *πρὶν* with the Subjunctive, and *πρὶν* with the Optative, are used only in sentences actually or virtually negative. *οὐ χρή με ἀπελθεῖν, πρὶν ἄν δῶ δίκην*, 'you must not let me go, till I have suffered for it' (XEN. *Anab.* v. 7. 5); *οὐδαμῶθεν ἀφίεσαν, πρὶν παραθεῖεν ἀριστον*, 'they would not let them go, till they had served them with breakfast,' iv. 5. 30.

(c) *ἕως* with the Aorist = until, with the Present = as long as.

**53. Conditional Clauses** (L. P., p. 144), are introduced by *εἰ*, *ἐάν*, *εἴπερ*, followed by *μή* if the sentence be negative. Four classes are distinguished:—

(a) *Pure conditions*: where the question is one of fact and the consequence follows if the fact be granted (*sumptio Dati*); the Indicative is used in both Protasis and Apodosis; *εἰ τι ἁμαρτάνεις ἀλγείς, si quid peccas, doles*.

(b) *Practical supposition*: where the condition is a supposition, but one which has a speedy prospect of decision, and the consequence is certain to follow on the fulfilment of the condition (*sumptio Dandi*); by *ἐάν* or *ἢν* with the Subjunctive in the Protasis, with the Future of the Indicative in the Apodosis, *ἐάν τι ἁμάρτης ἀλγήσει, si quid peccaveris, dolebis*. *ἐάν* is often used in a frequentative sense = if ever.

(c) *Possible Supposition*: where the condition and consequence are both hypothetical without any suggestion of their being more than possible and conceivable (*sumptio Ficti*); the Optative is used with *εἰ* in the Protasis, and the Optative with *ἄν* (which connects it with its conditions) in the Apodosis, as *εἰ τι ἁμαρτάνοις, ἀλγοίης ἄν, si quid pecces, doleas*.

*Note.*—In (b) and (c) the place of the Protasis is often filled by a relative clause where  $\delta\varsigma$  or  $\delta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma = \epsilon\iota\tau\iota\varsigma$ .

(d) *Impossible Supposition*: where the condition, being a *supposition* contrary to actual fact, can no longer be fulfilled, and the consequence is therefore impossible; a past tense of the Indicative in the Protasis followed by a past tense of the Indicative with  $\alpha\upsilon$ , the imperfect denoting continuance, the aorist the single act,  $\epsilon\iota\tau\iota\ \eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\alpha\nu\epsilon\varsigma\ \eta\lambda\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon$ , *si quid peccares, doleres*.

(e) Conditional sentences of various shades of meaning are formed by combining the Protasis of one of these principal forms with the Apodosis of another; e.g.  $\epsilon\iota\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\ \delta\omicron\rho\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ ,  $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\ \omicron\upsilon\ \chi\omicron\rho\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron\iota\tau\epsilon$ . The real condition is contained in  $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ , 'if it should turn out that they were right in their revolt, then you will be holding an unjustifiable rule.' The particular case carries a principle which proves a general conclusion.

*Obs.*—In particular, an indefinite case in past time ( $\epsilon\iota$  with Optative = if ever) is followed by a past tense of the Indicative with  $\alpha\upsilon$  to denote what actually followed in each case ( $\alpha\upsilon$ , where the condition is fulfilled).

**54.** From classes (c) (d) of Conditional sentences arise some abbreviated forms:—

(a) The Apodosis being suppressed, the Protasis alone expresses a strong wish, like our 'if only,' or the Latin *O si*;  $\epsilon\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\iota\mu\iota$ , 'if only I might have' (a wish possible to be realised);  $\epsilon\iota\ \eta\delta\upsilon\nu\eta\theta\eta\nu$ , 'I wish I had been able' (impossible).

(b) The suppression of the Protasis in (c) leaves the Apodosis to express a contingent futurity;  $\pi\omicron\iota\omicron\lambda\eta\nu\ \alpha\upsilon$ , 'I will do — if the necessary circumstances ever arise.' In the second person it is used to express a courteous request,  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\iota\omicron\ \alpha\upsilon$ , 'please accept it,' —i.e. 'you will accept it if you wish to oblige.'

**55.** In oratio obliqua, the Indicative or Optative of the Apodosis is represented by the Infinitive or the Participle (§ 43 c), the  $\alpha\upsilon$  being retained.

(a) The Apodosis can also be put, if necessary, into a participial form, generally with  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ .

**56.** *Concessive or Limitative Clauses* are formed by  $\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota$  or  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\iota$  with the indicative or optative, or by  $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota$  with the subjunctive, after Primary tenses (negative  $\mu\grave{\eta}$ ), but more generally by participles with the particle  $\kappa\alpha\iota\pi\epsilon\rho$  prefixed (negative  $\omicron\upsilon$ ).

**57.** *Comparative Clauses*, comparing with actual fact, are expressed by  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  with the indicative, except in the oblique; comparing with a supposition (Latin *quasi*), by  $\acute{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\iota$  with the construction of the Conditional Sentence. A noticeable form is  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \eta\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron$ , 'to his power;' with the superlative  $\eta\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron$  is often omitted: as,  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \pi\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\iota$ , 'the greatest number possible.'

*The Participle.*

58. Several of the above clauses may be represented by participles, as :—

- (a) *Causal*, sometimes with *ἄτε* or *ὥς*, as, *νομίζων ἀμείνονας εἶναι ὑμᾶς προσέλαβον*, ‘I took you with me, because I thought you to be better than they were.’
- (b) *Temporal*, the present participle expressing simultaneous time, the aorist prior time, and the future future, as compared with the leading verb, as *ἡδὺ σωθέντα μεμνήσθαι πόνων* where *σωθέντα* = *ἐπειδὴν σωθῇ τις*.
- (c) *Conditional*, as *ἀμαρτάνων ἀλγεῖς, ἀλγήσει, ἀλγούης ἂν, ἤλγεις ἂν*; in negative sentences the use of *μὴ* marks the participle as conditional.
- (d) *Concessive*, with or without *καί* or *καίπερ*, *ὅμως* being often added in the Apodosis; *καίπερ εἰδότες*, ‘although they know.’
- (e) *Comparative*, with *ὥς*.
- (f) The Participle is also used instead of another verb to express the means or the circumstances which lead up to or attend the verb, *ταῦτα ποιήσας ἀπώλεσε τὴν ἀρχήν*, ‘by doing this he lost his empire.’ This is called the Modal use. (*Cp.* § 27.)

59. The Participle is used in Greek with several verbs expressing existence, as, *τυγχάνειν*, *ἀρχεσθαι* (to begin), *λανθάνειν*, *φαίνεσθαι*, or joy or sorrow, as *χαίρειν*, *λυπεῖσθαι*, and with *φθάνειν*, to be beforehand, *παύειν*, to stop, and with the adjectives *δῆλος* and *φανερὸς*.

*Note.*—*φαίνομαι ὦν* = I plainly am; *φαίνομαι εἶναι* = I appear to be.

60. The Participle is used predicatively with the definite noun (§ 5), where we use a verbal substantive, as *ἀμα τῷ σίτῳ ἀκμάζοντι*, ‘with the ripening of the corn.’

61. The Accusative of the Participle of impersonal verbs, or verbs used impersonally, is used absolutely, as *δέον*, since it is necessary, *δόξαν*, when it had been resolved.

*The Negatives.*

62. There are two Negatives, *οὐ* and *μὴ*; *οὐ* appears in negative statements, *μὴ* in negative conceptions, such as purpose, condition, consequence.

- (a) *μὴ* is consequently used in prohibitions, direct and oblique, in oblique sentences after verbs of swearing and pledging, in conditions, and in deliberative, final, and consecutive clauses where the result is not represented as actually achieved.
- (b) *μὴ* is used with the relative and also with adjectives and participles with the article, when the relative or article denotes a class, as *ὁ μὴ ἀδικῶν*, or *ὅς μὴ ἀδικεῖ*, ‘whoever is not dishonest.’ *ἃ ἂν μὴ ὁράσῃς*, ‘whatever you do not do.’

**63.** The Negative in oblique enuntiation is often attached to the introductory verb, as οὐ φημι='nego;' οὐκ ἐῷ, 'I forbid;' so οὐκ ἀξιῷ τοῦτο ποιεῖν, 'I think I ought not to do this.'

**64.** The Negative in Greek is repeated with each thing denied, as οὐποτε οὐδεὶς οὐδαμοῦ ταῦτα ἐποίησε, 'no one ever did this under any circumstances.' If the verb comes at the beginning it has its own negative, as οὐκ ἐποίησε ταῦτα οὐδεὶς, 'no one did this.' Otherwise, two negatives make an affirmative, as οὐδεὶς οὐ ταῦτα ἐποίησε = 'everybody did this.'

**65.** The Negative μὴ is inserted before the infinitive after verbs of denying, hindering, forbidding, to make the subordinate clause carry its own full meaning : κωλύω σε μὴ ταῦτα δρᾶν, 'I prevent you from doing this.'

(a) An infinitive which for any reason has μὴ, takes the double negative μὴ οὐ, when it follows an actual or virtual negative, as, οὐ κωλύω σε μὴ οὐ ταῦτα δρᾶν. So ἀδύνατα ἦν μὴ οὐ μεγάλα βλάπτειν, THUC.; ὥστε αἰσχύνῃν εἶναι μὴ οὐ συσπυδάξω, XEN. *Anab.* ii. 3. 11.

### *The Prepositions.*

**66.** The meaning of Prepositions in Greek is modified by the use of the cases to which they are attached, the Genitive implying separation, or motion from, or aim; the Dative, attachment to, or rest at; the Accusative, motion along or towards; e.g. παρὰ (= alongside) with the Genitive means 'from (the side of),' with the Dative 'at the side of,' with the Accusative 'along' or 'to the side of;' μετὰ (our 'mid') with the Genitive is 'from the middle of' and so in company 'with;' with the Dative, 'among,' and with the Accusative, 'along the middle of,' or 'to the midst of,' and so, as one who goes to join a party follows it, 'after,' 'in pursuit of.'

**67.** The following prepositions take one case only :—

(a) The Genitive, πρό, ἀπό, ἐκ or ἐξ, ἀντί, πλὴν, ἀνευ, πέραν, μεταξύ, ἕνεκα (which is sometimes put after its case).

(b) The Dative, ἐν and σύν.

(c) The Accusative, εἰς, ὡς (with persons only), and ἀνά.

**68.** The following take two cases, the Genitive and Accusative : διὰ, κατά, and ὑπέρ.

**69.** The following take the Genitive, Dative, and Accusative :—ἀμφί, περί, παρά, πρὸς, ἐπί, ὑπό, μετά.



# THE USES OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE AND OPTATIVE.

## I.

### *In Principal Clauses.*

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| <p><b>1. WISH or COMMAND.</b><br/>         (a) First person plural, <i>ἴωμεν</i>,<br/>         'let us go.'<br/>         (b) Aorist with <i>μῆ</i> in prohibi-<br/>         tions, <i>τοῦτο μῆ δράσης</i>,<br/>         'do not do this.'</p> <p><b>2. DELIBERATIVE</b>, in direct ques-<br/>         tions (or indirect in <i>primary</i><br/>         sequence).<br/> <i>ποῖ ἴωμεν</i>; 'Whither are we to<br/>         go?' (<i>οὐκ ἔχουσι ποῖ ἴωσι</i>.)</p> <p><b>3.</b> With <i>οὐ μῆ</i> (with the aorist)<br/>         a strong DENIAL (probably an ellip-<br/>         tical case of II. 1).<br/> <i>οὐ μῆ ἔλθῃ</i>, 'there is no chance of<br/>         his coming.'</p> | <p><b>1. WISH.</b>—The pure Optative to<br/>         express a wish of possible fulfilment.<br/> <i>εὐτυχοίης</i>, 'may you prosper.'<br/>         (Negative <i>μῆ</i>.)</p> <p><b>2. POTENTIAL or CONDITIONAL.</b><br/>         With <i>ἄν</i>, especially in the apodosis<br/>         of conditional sentences, with <i>εἰ</i> and<br/>         the optative in the protasis.<br/>         (Negative <i>οὐ</i>.)</p> |
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## II.

### *In Governed Clauses.*

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| <p><b>1. FINAL</b>, in <i>primary</i> sequence,<br/>         to express purpose, or after verbs<br/>         of precaution and fear.<br/>         (Negative <i>μῆ</i>.)</p> <p><b>2. INDEFINITE</b>, after relative pro-<br/>         nouns and particles, and hypotheti-<br/>         cal conjunctions, generally with <i>ἄν</i>,<br/>         to express indefiniteness in <i>primary</i><br/>         time.<br/>         (Negative <i>μῆ</i>.)</p> <p><i>Note.</i>—The subjunctive is never<br/>         used to make a statement, except in<br/>         I. 3.; and never represents any other<br/>         mood than its own in oblique state-<br/>         ments or questions.</p> | <p><b>1. FINAL</b>, in <i>historic</i> sequence.<br/>         (Negative <i>μῆ</i>.)</p> <p><b>2. INDEFINITE</b>, after relative pro-<br/>         nouns, and in <i>historic</i> time, <i>without</i><br/> <i>ἄν</i>.<br/>         (Negative <i>μῆ</i>.)</p> <p><b>3. INDIRECT QUESTIONS</b>, in <i>his-</i><br/> <i>toric</i> sequence. (Negative <i>οὐ</i>.)</p> <p><b>4. INDIRECT STATEMENT</b>, after<br/> <i>ὥς</i> and <i>ὅτι</i> in <i>historic</i> sequence.<br/>         (Negative <i>οὐ</i>.)</p> <p><b>5. CONDITIONAL</b>,—With <i>εἰ</i> to<br/>         express possible but unpractical<br/>         hypotheses. (Negative <i>μῆ</i>.)</p> <p><b>6. INDIRECT DELIBERATIVE</b> (<i>οὐκ</i><br/> <i>εἶχον ποῖ ἵοιεν</i>). (Negative <i>μῆ</i>.)</p> |
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# XENOPHON'S ANABASIS OF CYRUS.

## NOTES.

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### ABBREVIATIONS.

Cp. = compare ; sc. = scilicet, namely ; i.e. = id est, that is.

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## BOOK III.

### CHAPTER I.

1. ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς] 'As long as the truce lasted.'

2. δὴ] Connects the apodosis definitely with ἐπεὶ ; 'then in truth.'

ἐννοούμενοι μὲν] The sentence begins as if ἐννοούμενοι δὲ ὅτι κύκλῳ were to follow.

ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις] 'At the king's very doors,' and so 'in the very heart of the kingdom.'

μύρια στάδια] Approximately the direct distance from Ephesus.

ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἰκάδε ὁδοῦ] 'Between them and their homeward journey.' So ARISTOPH. *Aves*, 187. ἐν μέσῳ δῆπουθεν ἀήρ ἐστι γῆς, 'The atmosphere is between us and the earth.'

ἔχοντες] 'With.'

οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ, κ.τ.λ.] i.e. Ariaeus and his men.

οὐδένα ἂν κατακάνοιεν] Of course an exaggeration. He means that without cavalry a victory is practically fruitless, the great mass of those that fall in a defeated army being slain in their flight.

3. εἰς τὴν ἑσπέραν] 'Towards the evening.'

ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα] To the place where the arms were piled, to head-quarters. Here the evening muster was held, but they were too dispirited to attend it. ταύτην τὴν νύκτα] 'For this night.'

ἐτύχανεν] sc. ὦν, or ἀναπαυόμενος.

πατρίδων] Plural, because of the great diversity of nationalities in the Greek host.

οὕτω διακείμενοι] In this state.

Compare with this Tacitus' account of the Roman army attacked by Arminius (*Annals* i. 65): 'Apud Romanos invalidi ignes, interruptae voces, atque ipsi passim adjacerent vallo, oberrarent tentoriis, insomnes magis quam pervigiles.'

4. αὐτός] Emphatic. Subject to νομίζειν, 'said that *he* deemed him more worthy of his attachment, (or 'more serviceable to him') than his fatherland.'

5. ἀνακοινοῦται] 'Consults'; *lit.* communicates the matter to him. So ἀνακοινῶσαι below.

τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ] The well-known Athenian.

μή τι] ὑποπτεύσας implies fear.

συμπολεμήσαι] Cyrus had at once, on coming down to his satrapy, thrown himself heart and soul into the Spartan cause, and at Lysander's request had raised the pay of the Spartan troops. For his motives, see note to i. 1. 1.

6. καλῶς πράξας σωθείη] 'Return successful.'

θεοῖς, οἷς ἔδει] 'To sacrifice to the proper gods.' Others take it to be a case of inverse attraction = οἷς θεοῖς ἔδει, 'the gods to whom he was to sacrifice,' but we should in that case rather expect δέοι.

7. ὅπως] The indirect interrogative.

8. οἷς] *sc.* θύειν. συνεστάθη] 'Was introduced.'

9. μείναι αὐτόν] The infinitive, because συμπροϋθυμεῖτο implies a request; 'he pressed him to stay.' The ordinary construction is with ὅπως, as in vii. 1. 5, συμπροϋθυμείσθαι, ὅπως διαβῇ τὸ στράτευμα.

10. ἦδει] *sc.* ὁ Πρόξενος.

δι' αἰσχύνην] The points are brought out in Clearchus' speech in i. 3. They were ashamed to run the risk of appearing as cowards in the eyes of their comrades, or as ungrateful in the eyes of Cyrus.

11. ἔδοξεν] Used first personally with σκηπτός, and then repeated impersonally with πᾶσαν οἰκίαν.

12. πῇ μὲν] 'In one way.'

ἐφοβείτο] *sc.* τὸ θναρ; but the whole is defined by the clause μὴ οὐ δύναίτο, which gives the substance of his fear.

This is an interesting instance of the superstition which was present in the minds of even educated Greeks. The least coincidences are seized upon. Zeus is king, and the guardian of kings, and so may protect and help the king into whose hands they have fallen. Hence his fear, while the light shining round him is cause of hope. So in the following chapter the 'God save you' that greets an accidental sneeze is at once seized upon as an omen of delivery from their difficulties.

13. ἡ δὲ νύξ] 'While the night . . .'

ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ] 'In the king's power,' *cp.* i. 1. 4, note.

ἐπιδόντες] 'Having witnessed,' 'lived through.'

ὑβριζομένους] 'In constant torture.'

τὸν ἐκ πόλεως πόλῳ στρατηγὸν] Hints at his reason for hesitation. There is a general, and he a Spartan, who might take the lead.

14. ποῖαν δ' ἡλικίαν] 'It is of no use for me to wait for any statutable

or conventional age for taking part in public affairs. I shall have no chance of getting older, if I fall into the enemy's hands.' According to the ordinary traditions Xenophon was at this time about forty-four years of age, but he could hardly at that age use such language as this. It seems more rational to give up the story of his rescue at Delium. (See Introduction, p. xii.)

15. Προξένου λοχαγούς] As Proxenus' friend he would be quartered amongst them, and most familiar with them.

ὁρῶν ἐν οἷσις ἰσμέν] 'Seeing the position we are in.'

16. τὸν πόλεμον ἐξέφηναν] 'Declared openly the war,' which they were hatching all the while; as we should say, 'unmasked their batteries.'

17. εἰ ὑψησόμεθα] 'If we give in,' if we become despondent, listless.

καὶ τεθνηκότες ἤδη] 'Yes, and that when he was already dead,' an aggravation of the cruelty.

κηδεμόν] Cyrus had his mother to plead his cause.

ἰστρατεύσαμεν] The subject is understood from οἷς. When the relative is to be used twice in different cases the latter is omitted, or the demonstrative is used in its place, as in § 4.

εἰ δυναίμεθα] Historic for ἐὰν δυνώμεθα.

18. οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ πάντων εἴθαι;] 'Would he not have recourse to every means?' 'Would he stick at anything?'

ὅπως τοι κ.τ.λ.] 'That we may only not come under his power.'

19. αὐτῶν] 'On their side,' with regard to them. The genitive is dependent on the whole clause that follows, which is sometimes summed up by τοῦτο, or τόδε. So XEN. Ages., viii. 4, τοῦτο ἐπαυνῶ Ἀγησιλάου, τὸ ὑπεριδεῖν τὴν βασιλέως δύναμιν.

ἄφθονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια] 'The abundance of provisions.'

20. δτου δέ, κ.τ.λ.] This sentence is parenthetical, and not dependent upon ἐνθυμοίμην; 'and I knew all the time that but few of us had the means of buying anything, while we were bound by our oaths not to procure provisions in any other way than by purchase.'

ἤδη] From the time when the truce was concluded.

πορίζεσθαι] κατέχοντας implies 'forbidding.'

21. ἐπεὶ μέντοι, κ.τ.λ.] 'Now, however, that they have put an end . . . there seems to me to be an end to . . .'

ἐν μέσῳ] In Greek contests the prizes were set out in the middle of the ring, for all the world to see. ἀθλα is part of the predicate. Trans. 'These good things are now open prizes for whichever side prove themselves the better men.' For the metaphor cp. DEMOSTH. I Phil. 5, ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ἀπαντα τὰ χωρία ἀθλα τοῦ πολέμου, κείμενα ἐν μέσῳ.

ἀγωνοθέται] The gods were the authors of this open contest, and would award the prizes. Trans. 'The gods are umpires.'

22. στεφρῶς] 'Steadily,' 'firmly.'

πολὺ σὺν, κ.τ.λ.] For the emphatic place of πολὺ cp. i. 5. 2.

23. σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς] 'Thank God!'

τρωτοὶ καὶ θνητοὶ] 'More vulnerable and more mortal.' *θνητοὶ* is used in the rare sense of 'easily killed.' The phrase breathes the Greek spirit of contempt for the Asiatics. The healthy training and vigorous out-door exercises of the Greek no doubt made him more hardy. Compare the singular device of Agesilaus (XEN. *Ages.* i. 28) who, to inspire his men with greater confidence during his Asiatic campaigns, ordered the captives taken in his forays to be stripped when they were put up for sale, that the soldiers might contrast their fair skins and fleshy limbs with the sunburnt hue and the brawny muscle of their own countrymen.

24. καὶ ἄλλοι] Others, that is, of the Greeks, so that they would lose the credit of the initiative.

παρακαλοῦντας] Future.

φάνητε] 'Shew yourselves.'

25. Note the modest emphasis on ὑμεῖς, and the unemphatic με.

ἀκμάζαν] 'I am old enough.'

ἔρύκαν] 'To ward off,' a poetic word.

26. πέρας] sc. σωτηρίαν δοῦναι.

27. μεταξὺ ὑπολαβὼν] Not allowing him to finish his speech. He might have discouraged the rest.

οὐδὲ ὁρῶν] 'Not even when you see a thing do you recognise it.' Be careful *not* to take οὐδὲ . . . οὐδέ as = neither . . . nor, which is οὔτε . . . οὔτε.

ἐν ταύτῳ γε μέντοι, κ.τ.λ.] 'And yet surely you were present with these gentlemen?'

ἐπὶ τούτῳ, i.e. ἐπὶ τῷ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν Κῦρον.

29. ὥσπερ δὴ] 'Just as, forsooth, you would again have us do now.'

οὐδ' ἀποθανεῖν] They were kept for torture, and not allowed the release which death would give. So Tacitus of Octavia, 'nondum morte acquiescebat' (*Annals*, xiv. 64).

30. σκεύη, κ.τ.λ.] 'We should put some of the baggage on his back, and treat him as a porter.' τοιοῦτῳ, sc. σκευοφόρῳ.

31. ὥσπερ Λυδὸν] The practice of wearing ear-rings was not a Greek one. The fact, therefore, that his ears were bored showed him to be a foreigner, and the comparison 'as a Lydian' insinuates that he had been a slave, *Λυδὸς* being in Greek what *Syrus* is in Latin (see Terence and Plautus *passim*). It is not necessary to infer, with Kühner, that he was actually a Lydian; all that we can fairly gather is that he had lived in Boeotia long enough to speak the dialect fluently, and had been able to pass himself off upon Proxenus as a Boeotian. The word *πάλω* (§ 29) may imply that he was 'one of those who had used faint-hearted language in the conversation with Phalinus shortly after the death of Cyrus' (ii. I. 14).—GROTE.

32. οἴχοιτο, i.e. had perished.

**ἑποστρατηγὸν]** Probably the captain of the first λόχος in the division. His post in the march was next to the στρατηγός, so that he would naturally step into his place when it was vacant.

**33. τῶν δ' ἄλλων]** See note on § 3.

**νύκτες]** See i. 7. 1, and note. The plural is probably due to the division into watches.

**36. μέγιστον ἔχετε καιρὸν]** 'You have a heavy responsibility.' It is a great crisis which it rests with you to make the most of.

**ἦν φανεροὶ ᾗτε]** 'If they see you.'

**37. ἴσως]** 'One may fairly say that.' It does not express any doubt. Kühner compares the Latin use of *haud scio an* for *sine dubio*.

**ταξίαρχοι καὶ λοχαγοὶ** are put on the same level. The τάξις of hoplites contained two λόχοι, and probably the senior of the two λοχαγοὶ would have the command of it. The ταξίαρχοι may, however, have been the captains of the light-armed troops, who were divided into companies of 100, called τάξεις.

**χρήμασι]** As receiving higher pay—the λοχαγοὶ twice, and the στρατηγοὶ four times that of the common soldier.

**προβουλεύειν]** 'Take the lead in counsel and in labour, if needs be.'

**38. ἐν δὲ δῆ, κ.τ.λ.]** δῆ emphasises. 'No great thing can be done without leaders under any circumstances, to speak generally; certainly not when it comes to operations of war.'

**παντάπασιν]** The statement is absolutely true, without any restriction.

**39. ἦν συλλέγητε]** The apodosis is ποιῆσαι ἄν.

**40. ἐχόντων]** sc. τῶν στρατιωτῶν. Cp. i. 2. 17, προύκοντων δρόμος ἐγένετο τοῖς στρατιώταις. Or it may be impersonal, 'in this state of things.' Cp. ch. 2. 10.

**41. στρέψῃ τὰς γνώμας]** 'Divert their thoughts.'

**42. ἡ ποιοῦσα]** 'What makes,' attracted to the gender of the nearest noun.

**σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς]** The qualification of a religious Greek. 'Bravery avails not if Heaven oppose.'

**οὐ δέχονται]** 'Fly before.'

**43. μαστεύουσι]** A poetical word frequently used by Xenophon. Cp. Ages. i. 24, ὥσπερ ἄν τις τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀποθανούμενον προθύμως μαστεύοι. Trans. 'Men whose only object is to save their lives.'

**ὅπόσοι δὲ, κ.τ.λ.]** 'But they that have made up their minds that death is the common and inevitable lot of all men, and so strive after an honourable death, these I have observed more frequently attain to a good old age, and are happier all their lives.' The construction is changed for clearness. The two relative clauses are distinguished by μέν . . . δέ, and οὗτοι μέν should naturally be followed by οὗτοι δέ . . . ἀφικνούνται.

**45. τοσοῦτον ἐγίνωσκον]** 'I had taken so much notice of you.'

46. οἱ δεόμενοι] sc. ἀρχόντων. Those who had lost their leaders were to choose others in their place.

47. μέλλοιτο] 'Delayed ;' not often used in the passive. Cp. DEMOSTH. I *Phil.* 37, ἐν ὅσῳ ταῦτα μέλλεται.

Δαρδανεύς] Of Dardanus in the Troad.

Κλεάνωρ] Called Ἀρκὰς in § 10. Orchomenus was a town of Arcadia. He already held a command, so that Agias' men attached themselves to him.

## CHAPTER II.

1. εἰς τὸ μέσον] To the (central) meeting-place.

2. ὅποτε στερόμεθα] 'Now that we are bereft.' ὅποτε is partly causal. οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀριαίον] 'Ariaeus and his men.'

3. ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἔλθειν] 'To come as brave men out of the present crisis ;' as we say, a man 'comes well out of' a trial.

ὑφίστασθαι] 'Play the coward.'

εἰ δὲ μὴ, κ.τ.λ.] 'But if that may not be, yet at any rate we may die a noble death.'

4. ἐπὶ τούτῳ] 'Next to him.'

ποιήσαιο ἂν] The condition implied is εἰ δύναίτο.

αὐτὸς] This repetition is very effective as emphasising the heinousness of his conduct.

οὐδὲ] Not even the hospitable Zeus did he respect. How, is explained in the next clause.

αὐτοῖς τούτοις] 'By these very means,' his oaths, his pledges, his hospitality.

5. καὶ ἐδώκαμεν, κ.τ.λ.] See note on iii. 1. 17. This is a good example ; in full it would be ὃ ἐδώκαμεν καὶ παρ' οὗ ἐλάβομεν.

τιμώμενος] Imperfect.

6. ὅ,τι ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς θεοῖς] Implies that they would be safer in the care of the gods than in trusting to men.

7. ἐσταλμένος] 'Dressed out,' 'equipped.'

ἐν τούτοις] sc. τοῖς καλλίστοις.

8. διὰ φιλίας ἔναι] A common phrase, 'to be on friendly terms ;' so below, διὰ παντὸς πολέμου ἔναι, 'to be on terms of deadly' or 'irreconcilable hostility.'

καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς] The subject of the subordinate clause, after verbs of seeing and knowing, is frequently transposed into the principal clause as object, thus giving additional vividness to what is seen. Trans. 'When we look at the generals, and the treatment which they received.'

δίκην ἐπιθεῖναι] 'To inflict punishment.'

9. πτάρνυται τις] The sneeze itself might be of good or of evil omen. Hence the prayer Ζεῦ σῶσον, to avert the possibility of evil. The prayer

was accompanied by a kissing of the hand (*προσεκύνησαν τὸν θεόν*). It was this appeal to heaven for safety and protection (akin to our 'God bless you!' after a sneeze) that Xenophon seized upon with a readiness, which none but an Athenian would have shown, in order to cheer his men. It is an omen of Zeus Soter, because it leads to his being invoked.

*τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ*] sc. *Διὶ σωτήρι*.

*τὰ τῶν θεῶν*] 'What was due to the gods.'

10. *ἐτύχανον λέγων*] 'I was saying,' when I was interrupted.

*τῶν θεῶν*] 'To which the gods were witnesses.'

*οἱ περ*] sc. *τοὺς θεούς*.

11. *ἀγαθοῖς προσήκα εἶναι*] 'It is your birthright to be brave;' the bravery of your ancestors is your title-deed. The sequence is broken by the insertion of *ἀναμνήσω γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.* The sense is *ἐπειτα δὲ σώζονται, κ.τ.λ.*

*ἐλθόντων, κ.τ.λ.*] In the first Persian expedition under Datis and Artaphernes, B.C. 490.

*αἰθις* presents some difficulty and is omitted by some MSS. In the sense of 'again,' it cannot be applied to Darius' expedition. Kühner therefore, with Bornemann, explains it that they intended again to reduce Athens to the state it was in before the city was built, to blot it out of the map again.

*ἐνίκησαν*] At Marathon.

12. *εὐξάμενοι τῇ Ἀρτέμει*] The history of this vow is given somewhat differently by the Scholiast on ARISTOPHANES, *Equit.* 657. Callimachus the polemarch, who commanded at Marathon, is said to have vowed that he would sacrifice to Artemis as many heifers as there should be men slain in the Persian host. The number of the slain, however, proved to be so great that, being unable to sacrifice so many heifers, he offered goats in their place. It was kept up in memory of the Persian defeat *καὶ ἐτι*, though the vow was probably paid off by then.

*ὁπόσους ἂν*] The reading of all the MSS. See i. 5. 10 and note. The subjunctive is mechanically changed into the optative, and *ἂν* is forgotten.

*οὐκ εἶχον*] Were not able.

13. *δεσπερον*] Ten years after, 480 B.C.

*κατὰ γῆν*] At Thermopylae.

*κατὰ θάλατταν*] At Artemisium and Salamis.

*προσκυνεῖτε*] An allusion to the servile prostration with which the subjects of the king of Persia approached his presence, bending down before him, and touching the very ground with their faces. The same custom still prevails in China, and has been till recently one of the hindrances to diplomatic intercourse between China and the European powers, whose representatives would not submit to do such servile acts. Xenophon alludes to it again in his *Agesilaus* (i. 34), (*τοὺς μὲν πρόσθεν προσκυνεῖν Ἕλληνας ἀναγκαζομένους ὁρῶν τιμωμένους ὑφ' ὧν ὑβρίζοντο, τοὺς δ' ἀξιοῦντας καὶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς καρποῦσθαι, τούτους ποιήσας μὴδ' ἀντιβλέπειν τοῖς*



Ἑλλῆσι δύνασθαι), where there is the same reference as here to the paying of divine honours to a mortal man.

14. οὐ μὲν δὴ, κ.τ.λ.] 'I am not going to say,' *i.e.* 'I do not mean to imply that you are any disgrace to them; on the contrary, it is not many days since,' etc.

15. ὁπότε περὶ, κ.τ.λ.] 'When your own safety is at stake.'

16. πατροφῶ] 'That you inherit from your fathers.'

μὴ δέχεσθαι] 'To flee before you.'

17. οἱ Κυραῖοι] *i.e.* the barbarians under Ariaeus and others who had followed Cyrus.

ἔφευγον γοῦν] 'At least they showed it by running away.'

18. οὐδεὶς πρόποτε, κ.τ.λ.] 'No one was ever killed in battle by a bite or a kick from a horse; it is the men who do whatever is done in battle.'

19. κρέμονται] 'Are suspended,' in contrast to *βεβηκότες*, with feet firmly planted; ἐφ' ἱππων implies a separable superposition; cp. i. 4. 3, note.

20. τὰς μὲν μάχας θαρβέετε] 'Whilst you have no fears about the issue of battles.'

τοῦτο ἄχθεσθε] 'You are uncomfortable at this.'

περὶ ἡμᾶς] Cp. i. 4. 8, περὶ ἡμᾶς κακίους εἰσὶ.

ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα] 'Life and liberty.'

21. μὴδὲ τοῦτο ἔχοντας] 'When we have not even got that,' *sc.* ἀργύριον. *μηδὲ* is due to the infinitive construction of the sentence.

22. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν, κ.τ.λ.] Note the gradual ascent in the scale of difficulty.

διαβάντες] *sc.* τὸν Τίγρητα. The Euphrates and the Tigris are the rivers specially referred to.

εἰ ἄρα] 'Whether it is not the most foolish thing after all.' The Greek puts the question without suggesting the answer, as we should do.

προσιοῦσι, κ.τ.λ.] 'We shall find fordable if we follow them to their source.'

23. διήσουσι] 'Will let us pass,' afford us a passage.

ἡμῖν γε] Emphatic: 'we have no need to despond,' whatever others might do.

ἐπιστάμεθα Μυσοῦς οἱ] 'We know how the Mysians. . . . ' Both Mysians and Pisidians seem to have been practically independent of the Persian power (cp. i. 6. 7, and i. 1. 11), living a sort of freebooters' life.

εἰδομεν] Of the others we know by report, but the Lycaonians we have seen with our own eyes.

τούτων] *sc.* τῶν Περσῶν.

24. ἡμᾶς δ' ἂν ἔφη, κ.τ.λ.] 'I should have said that we ought not yet to let it be seen that Greece is our destination, but rather to make prepara-

tions as if we were going to settle where we are, were it not that I fear, etc.' The protasis to *ἐφην δὲ* is really contained in § 25, *ἀλλὰ γὰρ δέδοικα*, but (I refrain) for I fear.

*καὶ ὁδοποιήσιν γέ*] 'Ay, and would make carriage-roads for them.'

*ταῦτ' ἂν ἐποίει*] 'He would have been doing this.'

25. *ἐν ἀφθόνοισι βιοτεύειν*] Cp. ARIST. *Vesp.* 709, *ἐξων ἐν πᾶσι λαγῶσι*.

*μὴ* is repeated for clearness.

*οἱ λωτοφάγοι*] HOM. *Odys.* ix. 94-7—

τῶν δ' ὅστις λωτοῖο φάγοι μελιηδέα καρπὸν,  
οὐκέτ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι πάλιν ἤθελεν οὐδὲ νέεσθαι  
ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ βούλοντο μετ' ἀνδράσι λωτοφάγοισι  
λωτὸν ἐρεπτόμενοι μενέμεν νόστου τε λαθέσθαι.

26. The scheme which Xenophon starts here, mainly to prevent his men from thinking of a present occupation, was attempted by Agesilaus, but frustrated by his recal, and was finally carried out by Alexander the Great.

*ἔκοντες πένονται*] Opposed to *ἀνάγκη*; 'it is their own fault if they are poor and have to work for their living, since, by transporting their landless citizens at home to this country, they might see them rich.'

*ἀλλὰ γὰρ*] 'I need not enlarge, for it is plain,' etc.

27. *τοῦτο δὴ*] I have shown you how all the difficulties which you apprehend vanish on closer inspection; and I must come to the positive side of the question, and tell you what I think we must do.

*ἵνα μὴ τὰ [εὐγῇ, κ.τ.λ.]* 'That our movements may not be directed by the baggage-cattle.' If a good plan of the general's is overruled, because some path along which he wishes to go is impassable to the cattle, they may be said to supersede the general.

*ὄχλον παρέχουσιν*] 'Give trouble.'

28. *ἐν τοῖς δπλοῖς*] 'Under arms.'

*κρατουμένων, κ.τ.λ.]* 'For when men are vanquished you know that all that they have ceases to be theirs.' *κρατουμένων* is best taken as absolute; *ἡμῶν* would perhaps be inserted but for the evil omen. (It might be the genitive of the owner after *πάντα*, or, as Kühner, the genitive of ablation after *ἀλλότρια*.)

31. *ἢν δέ τις, κ.τ.λ.]* Note the double condition. 'If you pass a resolution that, in case of any insubordination, any one who happens to be on the spot shall with the officer's help punish it at once, the enemy will find themselves mistaken.'

*Κλεάρχους*] Because he was distinguished by his severity.

32. *περαινέειν*] To put words into action.

*ιδιώτης*] A private, as opposed to *ἀρχων*. The word has a purely negative meaning, like our 'layman,' and is used—as opposed to *ιατρὸς*—of one who has had no training in medicine,—as opposed to *ποιητής*, of a prose-

writer. So *σύγγραμμα πολιτικὸν* is a state-document, *σύγγραμμα ἰδιωτικὸν*, one which refers to a man's own private affairs.

**33.** *καὶ αὐτίκα*] 'There will be time enough for that by-and-bye.'

**35.** *εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ* is repeated for clearness after a parenthesis; *καὶ* accentuates the comparison to the cowardly cur.

**36.** *πλαίσιον ποιησαμένους τῶν δπλων*] 'Forming the hoplites in square.' In this arrangement the baggage and the camp-followers and those that did not bear arms were in the centre, with two lines of hoplites of equal depth at front and rear, and on each flank a column corresponding in breadth to the depth of the front line, which, if the flank was attacked, could, by facing about, become a regular battle-line.

*οὐκ ἂν ὁπότε, κ.τ.λ.*] *i.e.* we must settle it all now.

**37.** *καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιος*] He is not only already *στρατηγός*, but he also belongs to the nation, to whom all will yield priority. He probably held his commission direct from Sparta. See i. 4. 3, and note.

*ὀπισθοφυλακῶμεν*] Not the post of honour, but the post of danger and responsibility on a retreat.

**38.** *τὸ λοιπὸν*] 'Hereafter, as we try this arrangement, we can make alterations to suit circumstances from time to time.'

**39.** *δεδογμένα*] See i. 3. 20, and note. The same terms of democratic assemblies appear here—*ἐπικυροῦν* (32); *ψηφίσασθαι* (33); *ἀνατείνειν τὴν χεῖρα* (*χειροτονεῖν*) (38).

*μηνήσθω εἶναι*] 'Let him not forget to be.' (What is the Greek for 'let him remember that he is'?)

The whole of this scene is very remarkable. The readiness of the soldiers to listen to argument and to look affairs in the face without giving way to groundless despondency on the one hand, or to presumptuous confidence on the other, illustrates again what was said on i. 3. 4. But the most striking thing about it is the testimony which it bears to the superiority of the Athenian character and education. Athens had just been degraded in the eyes of all Greece; her walls razed to the ground; there was no Athenian contingent in Cyrus' army, which was composed of Spartans and Peloponnesians, and Thessalians, none of whom bore any love to Athens. Spartans and Arcadians at any rate had officers of their own—men of age and experience; and yet, when the crisis comes, there is but one man found to lead and direct this medley host, and he is no soldier, only a plain volunteer; but—he is an Athenian. To quote the character given to his people by their foes (THUC. i. 70-71) he was quick at devising and adapting plans, and quick at putting them into execution; he knew when to throw caution to the winds, and to venture where the odds were against him, never losing hope or confidence. And added to this he had that power on which Pericles set such store, the power of exposition. He could, as this speech shows, put a case impressively, using every artifice of

rhetoric, diminishing difficulties, and heightening advantages, so as to inspire a confidence which he was far from feeling himself, knowing that he who hesitates is lost. As Mr. Grote remarks, the perpetual drill, the narrow ideas, the slow methodical action of the Sparta which Xenophon was always holding up as his ideal, would never have fitted him for the work which he here did. That required the Athenian's training—the free and active sports of the palæstra, the discussions of the Sophists' schools, the practice in feeling the pulse of a multitude, and swaying it hither and thither, which a man gained by the public debates in the ἐκκλησία. The ascendancy which these qualifications gained him is yielded voluntarily, and is never contested, as far as we learn, till the main dangers of the retreat are over.

It is worth while to note the order of succession in this speech of Xenophon as illustrating what has been said. He begins by humouring his audience—'despondency is natural, but there is really good cause for hope; we are in the right, and shall have the gods on our side; we are brave and we know now by experience that our enemies are cowards: they have fled before us as their fathers before ours at Marathon and Salamis; and you have every motive for exerting your known bravery—for life and safety depend upon it.' Then he shows them that the fears they have been calling up are delusive. 'The loss of Ariaeus is a gain, for he was good at nothing but running away; the lack of cavalry is no loss, for horses are ticklish cattle, and horsemen are of no use save for flight: the loss of Tissaphernes' guides is no loss, for we shall have guides who must guide us right on peril of their lives. There is no reason to fear the difficulty of river-barriers, for every river is fordable if you go high enough, and if the worst come to the worst we can settle where we are, as Mysians and Pisidians have done.' Then, having dismissed this list of dangers, he tells them what he would have them do, to march unencumbered as far as possible, to protect the weak and to trust to vigorous care and discipline to save them from harm.

Each division of the speech prepares for the next; the desponding soldiers are first cheered, then comforted as to imagined dangers, and so at last worked up to the practical course which their leader sees to be best for them.

### CHAPTER III.

1. κατέκαιον] 'They set about burning.'

τῶν δὲ περιττῶν, κ.τ.λ.] *i.e.* Whatever a man had an extra supply of, he gave to those who had none. The antecedent to *δου* is *ἐκεῖνο*, not *ἐκείνου*.

Μιθριδάτης] Cp. ii. 5. 35.

2. καὶ . . . δὲ] 'And besides.' My respect for Cyrus and kindly feeling for you would be sufficient motive for my action; but I have a further reason, that I live in constant fear.

3. τάδε] 'As follows.' καὶ ἔλεγε X. is parenthetical.

εἰ μὲν τις] Kühner would read ἦν μὲν τις. The reading of the text is that of three of the best MSS., and the indifference which it implies suits the general tone of the speech. Which is the more likely is shown by ἦν δὲ in the apodosis.

διαπολεμεῖν] 'Fight it out to the end.' So διαγωνίζεσθαι, διακινδυνεύειν.

4. ἐκ τούτου] 'Upon this,' and in consequence of it.

ὑπόπεμπτος] 'Suborned,' sent as a secret spy, to get at their instructions.

καὶ γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.] The suspicion, which his words and tone created, was confirmed by the fact that one of Tissaphernes' retinue was with him.

πίστεως ἕνεκα] 'To secure his good faith.' The man was a renegade, and was trusted by neither side.

5. τὸν πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον εἶναι] 'The war should be without heralds.' They had been so often deceived by fictitious flags of truce, that they thought it best not to receive them at all.

διέφθειρον . . . διέφθειραν] Note the change of tense; 'they tried to corrupt, . . . and one man they succeeded in corrupting.'

6. διαβάντες τὸν Ζαπάταν ποταμὸν] 'The ford by which the Greeks crossed the Great Zab may, I think, be accurately determined. It is still the principal ford in this part of the river, and must, from the nature of the bed of the stream, have been so from the earliest periods. It is about 25 miles from the confluence of the Zab and the Tigris. A march of 25 stadia, or nearly three miles, in the direction of Larissa, would have brought them to the Ghazir, or Bumadus; and this stream was, I have little doubt, the deep valley formed by the torrent where Mithridates, venturing to attack the retreating army, was signally defeated. This action took place eight stadia beyond the valley; the Persian commander having neglected to intercept the Greeks when endeavouring to cross the difficult ravine, in which they would most probably have been entangled. A short march of three parasangs, or hours, brought them to Larissa, the modern Nimroud.'—LAYARD, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 60.

It is noticeable that though the Persians had the start of them, their passage seems to have been unmolested. Such was the Persians' fear of them.

τεταγμένοι] sc. ἐν πλασίῳ; cp. iii. 2. 36.

7. ψιλοὶ ὄντες, κ.τ.λ.] And so had to shoot over the heads of their own hoplites. The archers would belong to the ὄχλος just mentioned, who having no protective armour were put inside the square, while the ἀκοντισταὶ were on the outside, but could not carry far enough.

9. ἐκ πολλοῦ φεύγοντας] 'Running away from them with a good start.' They might have overtaken them if they had risked separation from their own main body.

10. καὶ φεύγοντες] Compare the 'versis animosum equis Parthum,' and the 'sagittas et celerem fugam Parthi' of Horace, *Od.* i. 19. 11, ii. 13. 17.

προδιώξειαν] 'Advanced in pursuit' from their own body (ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος, § 11). The rear-guard would have to face round to meet the attack.

11. κόμας] Apparently on the left bank of the Bumadus (see note on § 6).

12. ἤτιδόντο . . . μαρτυροῖν] In the former the fact is prominent, in the latter Xenophon's confession.

ἐν τῷ μένειν] As they had to do to receive the attack.

13. ἐπειδὴ δὲ, κ.τ.λ.] 'After we began the pursuit it was as you say.'

15. οἱ ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλοντες] *i.e.* οἱ ἀκοντισταί.

ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ, κ.τ.λ.] 'While in a short distance, however quick he might be, a man on foot could not overtake another who had a bowshot start,' (*lit.* from a bowshot's distance).

16. ἡμεῖς] The emphasis is on the condition: hence the nominative.

17. χαροπληθείσι τοῖς λίθοις] There is a double point here. They use stones, and not lead; and the stones are not small ones, but big enough to fill the hand, and so to slip easily out of the sling without much impetus.

18. πέπανται] Poetic word, see i. 9. 19.

τούτῳ] *i.e.* τῷ πεπαμένῳ.

ἀτέλειάν τινα] 'Some exemption,' *e.g.* from fatigue duty, as an inducement to come forward.

19. τῷ Κλεάρχῳ] 'By Clearchus.'

σκευοφόρα] *i.e.* mules or oxen.

κατασκευάζειν implies not merely equipping but training. So *Cyropaedia*, viii. 1. 43, κατεσκεύαζε μελέτη.

20. σπολάδες] The common form, though some MSS. here have στολάδες. The σπολάς was a sort of leathern jerkin or 'jack' worn under the θώραξ. See i. 2. 3, note.

#### CHAPTER IV.

1. χαράδραν] See note on 3. 6.

2. λάβῃ] This sequence gives a tone of greater confidence to his promise.

ἐνόμιζε] 'He was thinking all the while.'

3. παρήγγελλτο δὲ, κ.τ.λ.] 'The word had been passed to the light-armed and the heavy-armed who were to join in the pursuit, and the cavalry had been instructed to give chase without hesitation, seeing that a competent force would follow at their heels.'

4. ἐσήμενε] sc. ὁ σαλπικτήης.

οἷς] sc. ἐκεῖνοι, οἷς.

5. αὐτοκέλευστοι] 'At their own prompting.'

6. τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας] About three hours' march.

7. Δάρισα] The ancient Calah (*Gen.* x. 11), the second city of the Assyrian empire, on the Tigris, about six miles above the confluence of the Zab. It is represented by the ruins at Nimroud or Athur, consisting of 'long mounds of earth, marking the former extent of the wall of the city, and a conical mound.' Mr. Layard's researches have made it plain that the latter was the remains, not of a pyramid, but of a square tower, whose basement wall was of solid stone masonry, twenty feet in height, so corresponding exactly with what Xenophon says of the basement of the city wall. (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 123.) But from its external appearance Mr. Layard calls it a pyramid in his earlier work, as naturally as Xenophon does here. 'The circuit of the walls of Larissa, two parasangs, also nearly coincides with the extent of the quadrangle at Nimroud.' (*Nineveh and its Remains*, ii. 248, note.)

Μήδοι] Xenophon uses the term perhaps somewhat vaguely. The Medes and Babylonians conjointly took Nineveh about 607 B.C., after a two years' siege. Of its subsequent history we know nothing, till Media and Assyria revolted against Darius Hystaspes about 520 B.C. Some have supposed a reference to this in § 8.

8. ἥλιον δὲ, κ.τ.λ.] I have adopted the emendation of Hutchinson and others. The MSS. have ἥλιος δὲ νεφέλην προκαλύψας, which Kühner adopts, while confessing himself unable to make sense out of it. Some have interpreted it of an eclipse, and compare the Oriental expressions for a city's downfall (*e.g.* *Joel* iii. 15), but in that case we should expect the middle προκαλυψάμενος. With the reading of the text, the capture is due to a heavy fog which concealed the movements of the besieged from the besiegers. (At the same time it is just possible that the story contains a mutilated tradition of the fall of Nineveh itself, which is attributed to an 'enormous rise of the Tigris, which carried away a considerable portion of the wall of the city,' so that the besiegers were able to enter by the breach.)

10. τεῖχος ἔρημον] Identified by Mr. Ainsworth with the mound by which the modern village of Yarumjah (Layard's map) is built. It is 1150 feet long, and 42 feet in height. The city, Mespila, that it was near to, was Nineveh, or that part of it represented by the modern Kouyunjik, the scene of Mr. Layard's discoveries. Mr. Layard found there elaborately

carved slabs of the fossiliferous limestone to which Xenophon here refers ; and Mr. Ainsworth remarks that the common building-stone of Mosul (on the opposite bank of the Tigris) is of the same character, but that it is not found far to the north or south of that place.

Xenophon's measurement of the wall (six parasangs) is not borne out by the present remains, which are not more than eight miles in circuit, and is probably an exaggeration, or a piece of hearsay evidence. The name Mespila, it has been conjectured, may be a corruption of a native name Maschpil = wasted, desolate.

11. **Μήδεια**] Supposed to be the queen of the Median king Astyages.

12. **ἐμβροντήτους**] 'Stupefied.' We have no means of explaining these accounts. When the Tigris broke down their wall they would naturally think that the gods were fighting against them. Cp. *Nahum*, especially i. 8-10, ii. 8, 10, iii. 11.

13. **ἔχων**] To be taken twice ; *ἔχων οὓς τε ἦλθεν ἔχων καί, κ.τ.λ.*

**Ὀρόντου**] Cp. ii. 4. 8.

**ἀδελφὸς**] Cp. ii. 4. 25.

14. **τὰς μὲν τῶν τάξεων, κ.τ.λ.**] *i.e.* he drew up his men so as to form three sides of a hollow square (or possibly with the wings at an obtuse angle to the rear-line), so as to surround the Greeks if they should be bold enough to attack. To this he tried to provoke them by constant skirmishing.

15. **Σκίθαι**] Apparently a technical term for mounted archers.

**οὐδὲ γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.**] 'For it was not easy, even if he had wished it ever so much.'

16. **τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσαι**] 'With their previous skirmishing.' *τότε* is constantly used to refer to that which has been mentioned before.

17. **ἀνω ἵεντες**] 'Shooting up in the air,' so as not to lose their arrows.

18. **κόμαις**] The modern Tel Keif (Tellisköf in Kiepert's map), about nine miles from Mosul.

**ἐπισιτίσαντο**] The country round is still one of the most productive granaries of Assyria.—*Ainsworth*.

**πέδου**] The term is a relative one. It is evident from what follows that there were hills and dales, where the roads were narrow and confined ; and the numerous streams by which the gradually narrowing valley of the Tigris is intersected added to their difficulties. But the general character of that part of Assyria is that of 'level pasturing plains.'

19. **τὰ κέρατα**] The sides of the square, or flanks. The word which is naturally applied to the right and left of the battle line is transferred to the square : or it may be used because the men at the side marched in column. The word *πλευρά* is also used to express the same thing.

**συγκύπτει**] 'Are squeezed together.'



**ἐκθλίβεσθαι, κ.τ.λ.]** 'Are pressed out of their place, and march with difficulty, from being both crushed and thrown out of order; so that being in disorder they cannot but be unserviceable.'

**20. τότε]** 'Before.' When, after passing a bridge or a narrow road, the wings spread out again to resume their old position, the movement would naturally lead to some disorder, and instead of moving to the regular distance from each other the two wings would part from each other as distinct bodies, leaving a gap between them, and so exposing the *δχλος* in the middle of the square (*τοὺς ταῦτα πάσχοντας*) to the attacks of the enemy.

**φθάσαι πρῶτος]** 'To be the first to get over,' i.e. they wilfully broke their ranks.

**21. ἐνωμοτάρχας]** The *λόχος* of 100 was divided into four *ἐνωμοταίαι*, each under its own corporal.

**ὁπότε συγκύπτοι, κ.τ.λ.]** The device was a very simple one. These six companies formed a sort of elastic plug, which, when the troops were marching on open ground, filled up the space betwixt the flanks and the baggage (Mr. Grote thinks that there were six *lochi* on each wing). When they came to a narrow road or a bridge, the six companies halted and the rest of the square marched on. When they had passed, the six companies—no longer inside the square (*ἐξώθεν τῶν κεράτων*)—also passed, and when the ground was open again resumed their old place in the square. And according to the thickness of the column that they formed they could narrow or widen the main column of march.

**ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς κέρασι]** To be in the way of the columns.

**22. κατὰ λόχους]** 'Company deep;' i.e. with a front of six and a depth of one hundred. So *κατὰ πεντηκοστῶς* is fifty deep; *κατ' ἐνωμοτίας*, twenty-five deep.

**23. εἰ που δέοι τι τῆς φάλαγγος]** 'If help was wanted at any point in the line, they came up to help.'

**24.** Having crossed the plain they would come to the range of hills called the Djebel Abjad or Cha Spi (the *Tscha Spi* of Kiepert's map, = white mountains, a name derived from their calcareous character). This range they had to cross, and looking ahead they saw in the distance a large Residence or castle, with the usual cluster of villages round it. It must have been at some height, though the main village was below the highest ridge (*ὕψ' ᾧ ἦν ἡ κώμη*), for Xenophon's words imply that it was visible from the plain, though they could also see that their way to it lay over several spurs of the hill beneath which it nestled. (The *πρῶτος γήλοφος* when they went up *ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου*, § 25, must be one of the *γήλοφοι ὑψηλοὶ* of this section.) This is hardly consistent with its being the same as Zakhu, in the valley of the Khabur, with which it is generally identified. Besides, when they leave the village, they descend into the plain (§ 31). Rehdantz and Voll-

brecht state that the Bey of Zakhu has now a summer Residence in these same mountains.

τοῦ ὄρους] The Tscha Spi.

ἄσμενοι] Thinking that on uneven ground the enemy's horse would be unable to follow them.

**25.** When they had crossed one of these spurs, and were descending into the dip that lay between it and the next spur, the natives appeared on the ridge they had just crossed,—behind them, or higher up it on their right—and assailed them with missiles. If they turned back to pursue them, they took some time in their heavy armour to reach the top of the ridge, and their foes unencumbered had in the meantime disappeared, but when they turned to rejoin their comrades, the attack was repeated.

ὑπὸ μαστίγων] For this fighting under the lash, cp. HEROD. vii. 223, *ὅπισθε γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν τελέων ἔχοντες μάστιγας ἐρράπιζον πάντα ἄνδρα, αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐποτρύνοντες.* The same story is told of the Egyptian army in Greece in 1827. For the construction, HEROD. vii. 21, *ὥρυσσον ὑπὸ μαστίγων.* XEN. *Hellenica*, ii. 2. 23, *τὰ τείχη κατέσκαπτον ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων.*

**26.** κατέκλεισαν] They drove them to shelter within the square : they became again a part of the ὄχλος.

**27.** σχολῇ] 'With difficulty.' They could not do it quickly.

**28.** ἀπώλειαν] He states the general case, though here he is describing the particular one of the first ridge.

Join ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου with κινεῖν.

At the third spur they sent a detachment of light-armed to secure the ridge at the top, and by moving along it parallel to the army, and at a higher level than the enemy that were following them, they checked all further attack, the Persians fearing lest they should find themselves between two fires and have their retreat cut off.

**30.** ἐπιπαριόντες] Express fully the prepositions ; moving side by side with the main body, on the top of the hill.

**31.** καὶ ἄμα] 'And, besides, they had.' A very natural omission of *ὅτι*.

τὸ πεδῖον] Probably the valley of the Khabur.

**32.** ἀπόμαχοι] Non-combatants.

**33.** αὐτοῖς] Dative after ἀκροβολίζεσθαι=μάχεσθαι.

πολὺ γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'It was a very different thing to repel a foe, with a fixed post to start from, and to fight with enemies who attacked you on your march.'

**34.** ἐπιθῶνται] The subjunctive seems to express the constant presence of this fear.

**35.** πονηρὸν] A troublesome, ticklish, thing.

πεποδισμένοι] 'Hopped.' They were not merely tethered, but their feet were bound or fettered to prevent all possibility of their straying, supposing they were to get loose. The practice, according to Mr. Kinneir, was still retained in the first half of this century.

Πέρση] A rare construction : generally δει Πέρσην δνδρα.

36. διαγγελλομένους] 'Sending the message to each other.'

ἐκήρυξε] sc. ὁ κήρυξ ; 'proclamation was made.'

λυσιτελεῖν] To 'pay,' 'be for their interest.'

τὸ στρατόπεδον] It would already have been prepared by the camp-followers and servants.

37. οὐκ ἐφάνησαν] 'Did not come in sight.'

ἀκρωνυχίαν δρους] The hills are compared to a hand spread out upon a table : this is the end of a spur, corresponding to the tip of the nail (ἀκρος, δνυξ). This second range which the Greeks had to cross to return from the valley of the Khabur to that of the Tigris is now called Djebel Dschudi, and separates the plain of Zakhu from that opposite Jezireh ben Omar. Over the end of it goes the pass of Dergula (probably ἡ κατάβασις εἰς τὸ πεδίον).

38. τῆς οὐράς] The rear.

40. ἔρημα] Unprotected.

πῶς] The indirect question. Hardly, as Kühner, for ὅπως after verbs of deliberation and caution (*Syntax*, § 50 e).

41. ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ.] 'Immediately above their own position ;' i.e. a fairly direct climb from where they were would bring them to the top of the ridge, whose lower end the Persians had seized, and so enable them to take the latter at an advantage in flank or rear, and from higher ground. They were skirting, that is, the ridge which they had to cross lower down.

βούλει . . . ἐθέλω] A good instance of the usual distinction between the two : the former implying *choice*, the latter *consent*.

42. τοῦ στόματος] 'The front,' 'van,' opp. to οὐρά.

43. ἔλαβε δέ, κ.τ.λ.] And he took (i.e. to supply their place) those that were inside the square.

τοὺς τριακοσίους] Krüger supposes them to have been the picked men (τῶν ἐπιλέκτων) of § 21, half of whom, or 300, would belong to Cheiriosophus, and half to Xenophon. Others see in it an imitation of the special body-guard of the Spartan kings (THUC. v. 72).

44. ἀμυλλᾶσθαι] 'To make a race for it.'

46. ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα] It is home and wife and child that is our goal.

47. οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου ἐσμέν] 'We are not on an equal footing.'

48. ἔχων] 'With it.'

θώρακα τὸν ἵππικόν] The cavalry carried no shield, and so wore a

heavier cuirass. Indeed the metal *θώραξ* had been replaced for the infantry by the leathern *σπολάς*.

*ὑπάγειν*] 'To lead the way gently,' 'to clear the way.'

49. *βάσιμα*] sc. *χωρία*. 'As long as the ground was passable.'

## CHAPTER V.

1. *οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρην, κ.τ.λ.*] 'Tissaphernes and Ariaeus with their men,' who had appeared in the rear of the Greeks.

*κῶμαι πολλαί*] In the plain opposite Jezireh ben Omar, on the banks of the Tigris, south of Mansurieh.

2. *νομαὶ βοσκημάτων*] 'Herds of cattle pasturing,' taken as they were being conveyed across the river.

3. *τὰς κώμας*] The villages in the immediate neighbourhood. I can see no reason in the text for saying with Mr. Grote and Mr. Ainsworth 'villages in front.' It is the thought of the immediate present which makes them despond, 'anxious lest if the enemy set about burning they would have no place to get provisions from.' And the assumption that these villages were in front has to be supported by altering the text of all the MSS. in § 13.

4. *τῆς βοήθειας*] Cheirisophus had apparently gone out with some of his men to arrest this incendiarism. Xenophon was some time before he returned from his excursion.

5. *ὑφιέντας*] sc. *αὐτοὺς*. 'They are conceding that the land is ours.'

6. *ἃ γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.*] *καίουσι = ποιοῦσι καίοντες*. 'For the very thing that they bargained for, when they made a truce with us, viz. that we should not burn the king's land, they are now doing, burning it as if it were not their own;' i.e. if the land may be burnt, it is not the king's.

6. *οὐκ οἶμαι δοκεῖ*] 'I do not think so.' See note on i. 6. 7.

7. *τὰς σκηνὰς*] 'Their camp'—the tents themselves had been burnt (iii. 3. 1).

*ὄρη*] The Carduchian mountains that rose in front of them, barring their further way; 'the great range of Djebel Dschudi,' says Mr. Ainsworth, 'seems to hem in the Tigris beyond Jezireh, like a mighty wall of rock.'

8. *κατὰ τετρακισχίλους*] 'Four thousand at a time.'

9. *ἃ*] sc. *πρόβατα*. For brevity, the animals are identified with their skins.

10. *τούτοις ζεύξας, κ.τ.λ.*] 'I shall use these to fasten the skins together, and mooring each skin by tying stones to it and letting them down into the

water as anchors, when I have carried them across and secured them on each bank, I shall put on them a layer of wood, and cover it with soil.' This seems to me a more natural translation of διαγαγὼν καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν δήσας than Krüger's, who refers these words to ἑκαστον ἄσκον and λίθους ('attaching them on opposite sides to the skins'). Some mention of the completed bridge is wanted before we come to the making of the roadway.

12. τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα] 'The idea seemed a pretty one, but its execution impossible.'

13. εἰς τοῦτοπαλιν ἢ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα] This is the reading of all MSS. save one which has ᾗ,—an obvious blunder. Editors have omitted ἢ, because they started with the idea that the villages *in front of the Greeks* were burnt. The Persians had got them now in a trap, as they thought. They could not cross the Tigris, for the river was high and the right bank was guarded; in front were apparently impassable hills, and around them the country was bare and burnt. So Tissaphernes and his friends thought that they must either turn eastward, or force their way back again towards Babylon. To their surprise the Greeks went on further into this blind alley: and they stopped and gazed at them as simple madmen.

ὑπανεχώρουν refers to the position of the Greeks as facing the Persians and ready to receive their attack.

θαυμάζειν] ὅμοιοι ᾗσαν follows the construction of εἶκα. We should naturally expect θαυμάζουσι (*dat. plur.*)

14. ἠλεγχον] 'Inquired about,' 'cross-examined them upon.'

15. θερμεῖν καὶ ἱερμεῖν] The spring at *Susa* (three months), and the two hottest months of the summer at *Ecbatana*.

διαβάντι] 'The one which leads westward when you have crossed.' For the dative cp. THUC. i. 24, πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι, ii. 96, τοὺς ὑπερβάντι Αἴμον Γέτας.

16. ἐμβαλεῖν ποτε] 'Once invaded their country.'

καὶ ἐπιμυγνύναι] 'They even had commerce with them.'

17. τοὺς ἑκασταχόσει, κ.τ.λ.] 'Those who said they knew the several directions.'

18. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθύσαντο] On the strength of this they offered sacrifice (as was usual on undertaking a new enterprise) that they might be ready to start at a moment's notice.

ἦν(κ' ἂν τις παραγγέλλῃ] The word is to be quietly passed, so as not to attract attention. Note the sudden 'graphic sequence.'

## BOOK IV.

### CHAPTER I.

1. **ἅσα ἐπολεμήθη, κ.τ.λ.]** 'All the attacks that were made upon the Greeks, while the Persian army was dogging them.'

2. **πάροδος δὲ οὐκ ἦν]** There is some difficulty in any definite settling of the topography at this point. Mr. Ainsworth supposes that the Greeks went on to the entrance of the valley of Mar Yuhannah (possibly finding there the *κώμας ἀκαύστους* of the last chapter), and then went over the great pass of the Tigris, commanded by the ancient Phoenica (now Finik). The description which he gives of the route tallies in many points with Xenophon's account; but if the Greeks had followed this route, they would have come down again (as Mr. Ainsworth makes them do) to the valley of the Tigris. Of this Xenophon makes no mention, and a simple reading of his narrative leads us to the conclusion that from leaving the Tigris to reaching the Kentrites they had been near no large river. I am therefore inclined, with Professor Koch, to suppose that they struck across the hills from above Jezireh ben Omar into the valley of Mar Yuhannah, and that they tracked this valley to its head, following the mountain road to Sert. This road is marked in Kiepert's map as one of von Moltke's routes, and is still chosen as the less difficult.

**τὰ Καρδούχια ὄρη]** The mountains of Kurdistan form one of the buttresses of the western range of Persia, filling up the angle made by the eastern Tigris with the main stream. They rise, eastward, to a height of 10,000 feet.

**Join ἀπότομα ἐκρέματο, 'hung precipitous.'**

**ἔδοκε δὴ]** 'Then they thought it best; ' δὴ is the apodosis to *ἔπει*.

3. **διέλθοιεν . . . διαβήσονται]** Note the change of sequence. What reason can be given for it?

**τοῦ Τίγρητος]** Condensed: 'from those of the Tigris.'

4. **ᾧδε]** Explained by the participle that follows.

5. **τὴν τελευταίαν φυλακὴν]** The night was divided into three watches.

**ᾧσον, κ.τ.λ.]** 'Sufficient for them to cross the plain in the dark.'

6. **ἄνω πορευομένων]** The genitive brings out the condition more fully than the dative would. 'There was no danger of any one following, when they were going up into the mountains.'

7. ὑφηνείτο] 'Led the way slowly.'

ἀεὶ] 'From time to time,' 'in succession.' It appears to belong to τὰ ὑπέρβαλλον, 'those who from time to time reached the crest;' but as each division also 'in succession' followed in Cheirisophus' track, the word is put between the two.

8. χαλκώμασι] 'Brazen utensils.'

ἔφερον] 'Plundered.'

ὑποφειδόμενοι] 'Sparing them, in case the Carduchi might be willing to let them pass through their land unmolested.'

ὥς διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας] *i.e.* διὰ τῆς χώρας ὥς διὰ φιλίας (χώρας). As the Carduchians had resisted the king of Persia, they thought they would be likely to assist his foes.

9. καλούντων ὑπήκουον] 'Paid attention when they called.' They would not come near them, or converse with them.

10. κατέτρωσαν] 'Wounded them badly,' 'gave them their death-wound.'

ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου] Explains their scanty numbers. The invasion had been a surprise; they had had no time to concert measures, or even to muster their friends.

11. συνειρών ἀλλήλους] 'Signalled to each other.'

12. τὰ ἀναγκαῖα] 'What they could not do without.' Join πορεύεσθαι ἔδοξε.

13. πολλοὶ δὲ, κ.τ.λ.] 'And they who had to look after these (*lit.* who were over these), and there were many of them, were unable to fight.'

δόξαν ταῦτα] A logical extension of *Syntax*, § 1 a. ταῦτα δοκεῖ becomes δόξαν ταῦτα. Cp. PLATO, *Protag.* 314, C., δόξαν ἡμῖν ταῦτα ἐπορευόμεθα. δόξαντα ταῦτα is also used, XEN. *Hellen.* iii. 2. 19.

14. ἔκλειψεν] 'Smuggled through.'

15. χειμῶν πολλὸς] 'A heavy storm.'

16. ἐπιδιώκοντες] Chasing the enemy for some way, and then falling back upon the main body.

17. σχολή δ' οὐκ ἦν, κ.τ.λ.] 'Xenophon had no time to go to the front and see what was the cause of all this hurry.'

18. τὴν κεφαλὴν] *sc.* τοξευθεῖς, 'shot right through the head.'

19. ὥσπερ εἶχεν] 'Just as he was,' and so, 'straight off.'

οὔτε ἀνελεῖσθαι, κ.τ.λ.] This was a serious matter in the eyes of a Greek, and of an Athenian in particular. It was only five years since six of the Athenian generals, who had commanded at Arginusæ, had been condemned to death for neglecting to recover the bodies of those who perished in the fight, that they might have decent burial; and Nicias on another occasion had, with the consent of his men, foregone the credit of a victory, and asked leave of a vanquished foe to recover his dead, because it was found

after he had left the field that there were still two bodies missing.—(THUC. iv. 44.)

20. ὄρθρα] 'Uphill.' For a description of the whole position see note to ch. ii. § 1.

ἐκβασιν] It is to them a 'way out,' because it brings them again to more even ground. They were probably ascending the plateau at the head of the Mar Yuhannah valley, the watershed of the Kentrites and the Tigris.

21. ταῦτα . . . εἰ πως] 'This was my reason for hurrying, that I might, if it were possible, get there before them,' or, 'to see if I could.'

22. ὅπερ ἡμᾶς, κ.τ.λ.] 'Which gave us, too, a breathing-space.'

23. φόβον] Threats and tortures.

24. αὐτῷ ἐτύχανε] 'He had a daughter married out there.' παρ' ἀνδρὶ, *lit.* 'living with a husband.'

26. λέγειν τὰ παρόντα] 'To explain the position.'

## CHAPTER II.

1. αὐτοὺς] The volunteers.

τὸν ἡγεμόνα, κ.τ.λ.] 'They deliver the guide into their hands bound.' The active participle may sometimes be best translated by a passive participle agreeing with the object.

τοὺς μὲν ἄνω ὄντας] *i.e.* the volunteers, who were on the summit.

τὴν φανεράν ἐκβασιν] 'The passage that they saw before them.' It was the 'way out' of a critical position.

Their object was to reach the first plateau of Armenia. They had come to the edge of a ravine or a torrent-bed, and the only visible track climbed a steep ascent on the other side of the ravine. The outlet was visible, but it was seen to be guarded by a large force. The guide had told them of another path, practicable for their baggage, which, as appears from the subsequent narrative, was hidden from the direct road by hills that rose between. It was commanded by an eminence which the enemy would at once seize, if they saw them attempting to get round. It was necessary, therefore, to secure this point of vantage. A body of volunteers went round with the native guide, and came upon an advanced post of the enemy. They thought that they had occupied the eminence alluded to, and did not find out their mistake till too late. From the point where they were a narrow path (στενὴ ὁδὸς) led down to the enemy's main position. Why the fugitive guards did not give warning to their comrades does not appear, but the volunteers were able, by the help of the morning mist, to come suddenly upon them, whilst the main body stormed the direct road (φανερὰ ὁδὸς), or climbed the hill wherever they could. The



latter party first rejoined the volunteers; then Xenophon, with one-half the rear-guard and the baggage, started by the circuitous road; but the enemy, knowing the country, had rallied, and occupied the hills between the two roads, while Cheirisophus and the other Greeks, thinking the passage open, had gone on in front. Xenophon dislodged the Carduchians from the first hill, and left a small force to hold it, but the enemy only moved on to the hill beyond, and, when they were driven from that also, occupied the summit first mentioned by the guide, which commanded both roads. They surrendered this without fighting, but its elevation had enabled them to see what was going on in the rear, and they at once made the most of their opportunity by going round and assailing the small guard that Xenophon had left. When the latter with his most active men was holding the summit above the watch-fires, news was brought him that this guard had been driven off with some loss, and presently the barbarians appeared on a hillock on the other side of the road, again, as it were, defying him. Xenophon tried to come to terms, but the Kurds were merely trying to gain time to rally again, and seized the first opportunity of occupying the hill, as soon as the Greeks left it, and of annoying and harassing their flight in every possible way. The Greeks, when brought face to face with foes like these, must sometimes have wished that they had faced Tissaphernes and fought their way across the Tigris. Xenophon's sense of the difficulties and hardships of this march through Kurdistan is touchingly shown in the second section of the next chapter.

2. ὕδωρ πολὺ] 'Heavy rain.'

ὅπως πρὸς ταύτην, κ.τ.λ.] By this feint he hoped to divert the attention of the Carduchians from the movements of the volunteers.

3. ἣν εἶδε κ.τ.λ.] 'Which they had to cross in order to climb the hill.'

ὀλουργοὶ] A poetical word, connected with εἰλύω, *volvo*; large, rolling, rounded stones—boulders. Similarly used in the defence of the Acropolis at Athens against the Persians.—HEROD. viii. 52.

οἱ φερόμενοι, κ.τ.λ.] 'Which in their downward course struck against the rocks, and splintered into a shower of fragments.'

τῇ εἰσόδῳ] The entrance to the ascent.

4. ἐπειρῶντο] 'Attempted to find a way up,' still making a feint of a direct approach.

ἀφανεῖς εἶναι ἀπιόντες] 'That they could get away without being seen.'

τεκμαίρεσθαι δ' ἦν τῷ ψόφῳ] 'You could gather it from the noise.'

5. τοὺς φύλακας] *The* guards whom they expected to find at the point which the guide had told them of; or the outposts which every encampment implies. They must have come between this outpost and their main body.

ὥς τὸ ἄκρον κατέχοντες] 'Under the impression that they held the (all important) height.'

6. **μαστὸς]** The word seems to denote that it was one of the knolls which project from the plateau over the descent. The *στενὴ ὁδὸς* explains why this point was occupied.

7. **εὗζωνοι γὰρ ἦσαν]** Explains *δλίγοι*; their agility saved them.

8. **ἔντο ἄνω]** 'Made a dash for it up the hill by the road that was visible.' The enemy's attention being distracted by the volunteers, there was no rolling of stones, or such impediment.

**ἀνίμων ἀλλήλους]** 'They hauled each other up' (*lit.* 'to haul up with a strap').

9. **τοῖς προκαταλαβοῦσι]** *i.e.* the Greek volunteers.

**τοὺς ἡμίσεις]** This word always takes the gender and number of the noun that follows it, when it means *half the number*. Cp. THUC. viii. 8. 2, *τὰς ἡμισείας τῶν νεῶν*.

10. Join **ἐντυγχάνουσι κατειλημμένῳ,** 'they find occupied.'

**ἀποκόψαι]** 'To cut off from the rest.'

**αὐτοὶ]** The men.

**ἐπορεύθησαν ἄν]** The protasis is implied in the clause *τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια, κ.τ.λ.*

11. **ὀρθοῖς τοῖς λόχοις]** 'In company columns;' as the best way of facing an enemy on an ascent without presenting too wide a front.

**οὐ κύκλῳ]** They did not advance on all sides, but left room for the Kurds to get away, if they wished.

12. **τέως μὲν]** 'At first' (*lit.* 'up to a certain time'), *i.e.* *ἕως ἔτι πρόσω ἦσαν*. The correlative is implied in the apodosis, *ἐγγὺς δὲ οὐ προσέεντο*.

**ὀρώσιν]** *sc.* *τοῖς Ἑλλησιν*.

13. **ἐννοήσας μὴ]** The considering is one of fear, cp. iii. 5. 3.

Join **καὶ πάλιν,** 'once more.'

**ἐπὶ πολὺ δ' ἦν, κ.τ.λ.]** A parenthetical explanation, and so outside the construction.

**Κηφισόδωρον]** The Athenian mode of naming (cp. THUC. i. 29, *Καλλικράτης ὁ Καλλίου*) is used with the names of Athenians; in other nationalities the father's name is omitted.

14. **πρῶτος μαστὸς]** Comparing this with § 6, it seems plain that this was the hill which the guide had first mentioned. It is also called *τὸ ἄκρον* in § 16, cp. c. I. 25.

15. **ἄρα]** 'As it turned out,' the inference drawn from subsequent events.

16. Xenophon went up to reconnoitre, and told the other troops to go on slowly, so that those who brought up the rear might overtake them, and to halt when they got on the level.

17. ὅσοι μὴ, κ.τ.λ.] 'All, that is, that did not manage by leaping down the rocks to join the rear-guard.' The number is not really indefinite, —hence the indicative; but for the speaker it is uncertain, and so μὴ.

18. τῇ μαστῶ] Apparently an afterthought; it belongs to ἀντίπορον.

19. πάντες, κ.τ.λ.] 'There was a general conflux of all that were about.' They rushed up one side as Xenophon and his men were going down the other.

20. ἀπέλιπεν] 'Left him behind.'

21. πρὸ ἀμφοῖν προβεβλημένος] 'Holding his shield before them both.'

22. λάκκοις κονιατοῖς] 'Cisterns (or cellars) coated with cement.' Wine is still stored in this way in the East. Where the stone is soft, a cavity of from four to eight feet deep is hollowed out, but when the stone is harder, large cask-like cisterns of burnt clay are made and buried in the earth. Casks are still but little known. Wine is generally conveyed about in skins.—KOCH.

23. See iv. i. 19, note. The same thing is shown here by the fact that they surrender their only guide, and leave him to the tender mercies of his indignant tribesmen.

25. ἐκβαίνων πρὸς τὰ ὄρη] 'Quitting the path and mounting the hill, he removed the stoppage in the road by trying to get above those who were hindering their march.'

27. ἐγγύθεν φεύγοντες ἀποφεύγαν] 'With a short start they could get away.'

28. Most German commentators since Schneider have looked upon this Kurdish bow as a kind of arbalest or cross-bow, but there is nothing in the text to imply this. It is distinguished from others simply by its size. The bow is so large that it is possible to rest one end of it on the ground and so use the left foot as a fulcrum for it to rest upon, and yet take aim; and the arrows are some six inches longer than a 'cloth-yard shaft.'

πρὸς τὸ κάτω, κ.τ.λ.] 'Planting the left foot against the lower end of the bow.'

ἐχώρει] Cp. DRAYTON'S account of the 'cloth-yard' at Agincourt:—

'Shooting at a French twelve score away,  
Quite through the body stuck him to a tree.'

ἀκοντίοις] As javelins.

ἐναγκυλῶντες] 'Fitting them with thongs.' The ἀγκύλη was a leathern loop fastened to the centre of the shaft. The finger was slipped through, it in shooting, so as to give a greater impetus.

## CHAPTER III.

1. ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου] The place at which the Greeks crossed the Böhtan-tschai appears to have been a little above its junction with the Bitlis-su. As Xenophon calls the sources of the latter, and in a sense rightly, the sources of the *Tigris*, he would hardly have called the river below its junction by any other name. I have given reasons for believing that the Greeks did not return to the Tigris valley (iv. 1. 2, note), and a passage of the river at Til, where the eastern and western branches join (which Mr. Ainsworth favours) is improbable for the further reason that opposite to Til the hills come down to the river bank. To avoid them the modern road from Mosul crosses the main stream of the Tigris at Til, and is continued for some six miles along the *left* bank of the Böhtan-tschai, crossing it about six miles from Sert. Mr. Ainsworth's map (erroneously) makes the Bitlis-su fall directly into the western or Diarbekr branch of the Tigris.

Κεντρίτην] The Böhtan-tschai, or eastern branch of the Tigris.

ἀπέχε δὲ, κ.τ.λ.] The hills of Kurdistan come down with gradually decreasing elevation to the bed of the river, which is itself at a height of some 2500 feet above the sea. It would seem easy from this description and from § 5 to identify the place, but travellers are unable to agree about it.

2. There is something very touching about this confession of relief. It is evident that the calm historic narrative of the last chapter gives us very little notion of all that the Greeks had to suffer in these seven days in the Carduchian mountains.

ἑπτα ἡμέρας] Only five are actually enumerated in the history; the other two were probably at the end of the time, and occupied in the descent from the highlands.

δσα] sc. ἑπαθον.

3. ἄνω τῶν ἱππέων] Above, that is, behind, the cavalry. It may be that the bank, on which they were, rose some way above the stream. The Persians adopted the same tactics at the battle of the Granicus against Alexander: ἐτάχθησαν δὲ τὴν μὲν ἵππον παρατείναντες κατὰ τὴν ὀχθὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ φάλαγγος μακρᾶς, τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς κατόπισιν τῶν ἱππέων, καὶ γὰρ ὑπερδέξια ἦν τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀχθῆς χωρία.—ARRIAN, i. 14. 4.

4. Ὀρόντου] The satrap of East and South Armenia. Of Artuchas nothing is known.

Μαρδόνιοι] The reading of nearly all MSS. One has Μυγδόνιοι, of whom Stephanus Byzantinus says, τινὲς δὲ Μαρδούς αὐτοὺς φασί. They probably held the mountain district in Upper Mesopotamia, westward of Til, where one range still bears the name of Mardin Dagħ, with a town called Mardin at its base.

**Χαλδαῖοι]** Said to be the same with the **Χάλυβες**, who dwelt in the 'Black Country,' along the south coast of the Euxine, south and west of Trebizond. The Chaldy Dagħ nearly opposite Til may preserve the name of this branch of the tribe.

**5. ὁδὸς δὲ μία ἡ ὁρωμένη]** Mr. Ainsworth mentions a rocky pass difficult of access which forms at present the only approach to Sért, and may be of remote antiquity. It is about six or eight miles above Til, 'the river being still hemmed in among hills that rise some eight or nine hundred feet above the stream, but the valley being somewhat wide; there is an *artificial causeway* carried up the face of the rock, partly by steps cut out of the rock itself, and partly by a causeway carried circuitously up the hill-side, and paved with large blocks of stone.' He thinks, however, that the distance of the hills on the left bank does not agree with the description in Xenophon. But the persistency of traditional routes in the East seems a sufficient reply to this. It is evident that Xenophon had too much to do during this time to keep the accurate notes which he had kept as a mere private volunteer on the march out.

**ταύτην]** sc. ὁδόν, by this road, of which the ford was a part.

**6. οὐτ' ἐν ὕδατι, κ.τ.λ.]** The apodosis to οὐτε is ἐπὶ τε τῆς κεφαλῆς, the intervening clause being parenthetical. 'You could not hold your arms in the water—if you did, the current carried them away—and if a man carried them on his back he was exposed,' etc. The form of the sentence is somewhat changed in the second clause, which might run οὐτε ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς φέρειν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, γυμνοὶ, κ.τ.λ.

**εἰ δὲ μὴ]** 'Else.' The phrase is so stereotyped in this sense as to be used even after negative statements, the negative being included in the suppressed clause: 'if a man did not hold them as usual,' the current swept them away. Cp. vii. 1. 8, μὴ ποιήσης ταῦτα· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἔφη, αἰτίαν ἔξεις.

**αὐτοῦ]** Where they were.

**7. Join πολλοὺς συνειλεγμένους,** 'gathered in great numbers.'

**8. αὐται]** sc. αἱ πέδαι . . . ἔδοξαν.

**διαβαίνειν]** Stride out, stretch his legs apart.

**9. ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου]** sc. ἱεροῦ, 'from the very first victim.'

**10.** A pleasant picture of Xenophon's management.

**11. ὥς ἐπὶ πῦρ]** With the intention of making a fire.

**ὥσπερ μαρσίπους ἱματίων]** 'What appeared to be bundles of clothes.' It does not appear whether they were hiding them, through fear of the troops that were about, or had put their clothes in a bundle so as to keep them dry as they forded the river. The latter seems not unlikely from the readiness with which the young men concluded that there was a ford. They at once consider whether it is safe for *them* to cross.

12. ὡς νευσούμενοι] 'Thinking that they would have to swim it.'

διαβάντες] 'Having crossed back again.'

τὰ ἱμάτια] Their own clothes, which they had left on the south bank.

13. τοῖς νεανίσκοις ἐγγεῖν] 'Ordered his attendants to bring wine for the young men,' who were, with him, to offer a libation of thanks to the gods.

14. σπονδὰς ἐποίει, was making libations; σπονδὰς ἐποιεῖτο, was making a truce.

15. ὑπομένειν] *i.e.* to let the baggage, etc., pass first. They went with the rest to the upper ford, see § 20.

16. οἱ νεανίσκοι] The δύο νεανίσκω of § 10.

17. ἀντιπαρήσαν, κ.τ.λ.] 'The companies of horse moved simultaneously along the opposite bank.'

στεφανωσάμενος] According to Spartan custom—probably with the reeds of the river bank. Cp. XEN. *de Repub. Laced.* xiii. 8, *ὅταν γὰρ ὁρώντων ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων χίμαιρα σφαγιάζηται, αὐλεῖν τε πάντας τοὺς παρόντας αὐλητὰς νόμος καὶ μηδένα Λακεδαιμονίων ἀστεφάνωτον εἶναι.*

παρήγγελλε] *i.e.* to do the same.

18. εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν] Because the blood of the victim offered *to* the river was poured *into* it. So HEROD. vii. 113, *ἐς τὸν Στρύμονα οἱ μάγοι ἐκαλλιερέοντο σφάζοντες ἵππους λευκοὺς.*

20. τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἑκβασιν] 'That faced the road up to the Armenian hills.' *ἑκβασις* is specially used of an outlet from a valley to the hills.

21. ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἑκβασιν ἄνω] 'As if making for the gap that led from the river up to the hills.' The position of *ἄνω* is peculiar; we should expect it to come before *ἑκβασιν*, but it belongs also to *φεύγουσιν*.

ἔτεινον ἄνω] *i.e.* they did not wait to defend the ford, but hurried up the hill.

22. ἐβόων μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι] 'Called to them not to let themselves be left behind, but to follow them up the gap.'

23. Here again ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν belongs to προσηκούσας though it is put after it. οἱ ἄνω are the infantry on the upper bank.

24. πρὸς τὸ διαβαῖνον στράτευμα] 'To rejoin the army that was crossing;' *i.e.* he posted back from the lower to the upper ford, on the left bank of the river.

26. 'And the baggage of the Greeks and the camp-followers were just crossing, when Xenophon, having wheeled round to face the Carduchians, halted, and gave the word to each of his captains to draw up his company in sections, bringing up each section on the left to form line; captains and heads of sections to go on the side next the Carduchians, rear-rank men on the side next the river.'

Xenophon's troops marching along the river bank would have their flank exposed to the Carduchians, who were drawn up facing the river, and eager to charge down upon the retreating force. Before any rearrangement, therefore, it was necessary to guard against this danger by bringing his men face to face with them. This was done by wheeling (*στρέψας*). The next process, the *παραγωγή*, is described by Xenophon in his treatise *de Republica Lacedæmoniorum*, xi. 8. The last section moves up to the left (the *shield*-, and so the *protected*, side) of the one before it, then the two together to the left of the one before that, and so on till the whole is in line with the first section. We do not know how the troops were marching on this occasion. If they were marching in parallel columns each *λόχος* in single file, the evolution would be very quickly performed. If, however, they were marching as was more usual in two or three files, it would be a little more complicated, as the members of each section would have to get into single file.

The word *στρέψας* is used later on in the sense of 'facing round,' 'turning round,' but that meaning could only hold here if Xenophon's men were running in line rather than in column. In that case, when they faced round, the line would become a column, and the *παραγωγή* might apply. As however they were making a feint of crossing the river, we can hardly suppose that they would adopt this order for the purpose.

*κατ' ἐνωμοτίας*] The Spartan *λόχος* of 100 men was divided into two *πεντηκοστίες*, and each of these into two *ἐνωμοταίαι*. They were to draw up, that is 25 deep. The reason for this order was that the *οὔραγοι*, the rear men of the *ἐνωμοταίαι*, were picked men, able to lead, as they had to do on this occasion.

27. *τοῦ ὄχλου* is best taken with *ψιλουμένους* 'separated from the train,' and not, as Krüger, with *ὀπισθοφύλακας*. *καὶ ὀλίγους ἤδη φαινομένους* is an additional touch. The baggage and the crowd had passed and the rear-guard were left alone, and of them many had quitted the ranks in their anxiety to look after their baggage, or their cattle, so that their numbers were already reduced.

28. *διαβαίνοντας*] Beginning to cross; *μὴ διαβάντας*, without crossing.

*ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν σφῶν*] The rearguard, literally having a race for it, would be glad not only of the protection which they could give, but of the presence of those above to break the force of the stream, and of those below to save any who might be carried off their feet by it. Cp. LIVY's account of Hannibal's passage of the Rhone, xxi. 27.

*διηγκυλωμένους, κ.τ.λ.*] (Cp. iv. 2. 28) 'the javelin-men with their fingers in their javelin-loops, and the bowmen with arrow on string.'

29. *ἀσπίς ψοφῇ*] A proof that they are within sling-shot.

*ἀναστρέψαντας ἐπὶ δόρυ*] 'Facing round to the right' and so keeping the shield side as long as possible to the enemy.

ἢ ἕκαστος, κ.τ.λ.] There was to be no time spent in looking for a good place to cross—but each was to rush straight in.

31. ὥς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν] ‘As men naturally are in the mountains,’ in a way suited to mountain or guerilla warfare.

32. τάναντία στρέψαντες] ‘Turning in the opposite direction.’ Cp. *θέοντας τοῦμπαλι*, § 21.

34. οἱ δὲ ὑπαντήσαντες] ‘Those who came to meet them,’ *i.e.* the peltasts, etc. sent by Cheirisophus to their help, § 27.

καὶ ἐτρώθησαν, κ.τ.λ.] ‘And so some of them too were wounded.’

## CHAPTER IV.

1. διὰ τῆς Ἀρμενίας] The Böhtan-Tschai forms the boundary between Armenia and Kurdistan. The former consists of a series of plateaux of table-land rising one above the other from south to north, and separated from each other by lofty mountain chains running generally from west to east. The Greeks, coming from the Assyrian plain, which at the point where they quitted it is less than 1000 feet above the sea-level, were already, when they reached the valley of the Eastern Tigris, at an elevation of from 2000 to 2500 feet. Above this rises the plain of Mush and the valley of the Murad Su, which is about 4000 feet; a thousand feet above it rises the plateau of Chynys; and the head valley of the Kara Su or Western Euphrates, the plateau of Erzeroum, reaches 6000 feet above the sea-level. Between the Tigris and the Eastern Euphrates run the Kharzan Mountains, the Nimrud Dagħ and the chain that girds the south side of Lake Wan, a continuation of the Taurus chain. The Euphrates is separated from its western branch and from the Araxes by the broad chain of the Bingöl Dagħ. Both these mountain ranges have an average height of nine to ten thousand feet. Naturally, at this elevation, the climate is severe. The winter begins in November, and the snow, once fallen, generally lies uninterruptedly till March or April.

In Xenophon's time Armenia was divided into two satrapies, the one containing the district of the two branches of the Euphrates, the other that of the Eastern Tigris and Lake Wan. It now also belongs to two pashaliks, Erzeroum and Diarbekr, with a few semi-independent chiefs in its centre.

πεδῖον ἅπαν καὶ λείους γηλόφους] This description exactly corresponds to the modern Sért which ‘is placed in the midst of a large undulating plain without a single tree, surrounded at a considerable distance by high mountains.’ It is not quite clear from Mr. Ainsworth's account how far distant his artificial causeway is from Sért, but as this town is only about two miles from the river, and there were no villages near the river, because of



the inroads of the Kurds, the village of the next section lay probably further to the north or north-east near the foot of the hills which separate the Böhtan-Tschai from the Kesseres-Su, near the modern Halisnu. This is the more probable, as the distance from Sért to the sources of the Bitlis-Su (τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος) is too great for 10 hours' journey. Professor Koch places it at Shirwan Kaleh, but the distance is too great.

2. τῷ σατραπίῃ] Orontes. Tiribazus was the satrap of the Western or, as we should call it, the Northern province. The names Eastern and Western may possibly be taken from the two branches of the Euphrates. The residence of the satrap thus fixed on the very borders of his district shows the severity of the feuds with the Carduchian tribes.

τούραι] The better houses in Armenia have now a small square chamber on the flat roof, which Professor Koch thinks is what is meant by these turrets. Kinneir says of the village of Halisnu, 'each house is a castle, consisting of a square tower surrounded by a wall sufficient to protect the inhabitants from the attacks of cavalry, or musket shot.'

3. From Sért to Bitlis there are three roads of sixteen, eighteen, and twenty-two hours respectively. Besides these there is a direct road over the Kharzan mountains to Mush (38 hours). This has been supposed by Colonel Chesney and others to be the route followed by the Greeks, but it is spoken of as a pass of exceeding difficulty, and the reference to the head waters of the Tigris implies rather that they followed the ordinary road by Bitlis. The distance of the sources of the Tigris on this route is greater, it is true, than that given by Xenophon, while the distances on the other side of the pass are much less than he gives. They may have passed above the sources of some of the smaller affluents of the Bitlis Su, without noticing that of the main stream, or the words may merely imply that they crossed and got above the Bitlis river, which they were informed was the head water of the Tigris. They would cross it near Bakiyah, which is at some distance from the watershed.

In this and the remaining chapters of this book it is especially necessary to remember what was said in the note on i. 1, as to the value of the parasang. It is simply an hour's journey, and among the winter snows of the Armenian highlands, with the march encumbered by a great quantity of personal baggage, for as many as possible of the baggage-cattle had been left behind, and with the care, very often, of frostbitten or famished comrades that could not but lag on the way, and of the women that accompanied them (cp. iv. 3. 30), a mile may not seldom be a liberal allowance for an hour's march. It is owing to the undue pressing of the parasang as a measure of length that commentators have taken the Greeks into the district of Kars and into Georgia.

Τηλεβόαν] The Kara Su (or Black Water, a name as common in Armenia as its English equivalent in Ireland), a tributary of the Eastern Euphrates or Murad Su. The mountains that surround Lake Wan are

joined to the range called Ali Dagħ by a col or saddle over which their path lay. This col forms the watershed between the affluents of the Tigris on the south and of the Euphrates on the north.

κῶμαι δὲ πολλαί, κ.τ.λ.] 'The plain may be called a fine one, being nearly forty miles in length, and from twelve to fourteen miles in its greatest breadth.' It is said to contain upwards of 100 villages, each having thirty or forty families. (Consul Brant, Journal of Royal Geogr. Soc. vol. 10.)

4. ἡ πρὸς ἐσπέραν] In vii. 8. 25 Tiribazus is said to be ὑπαρχος (=deputy satrap) of the Phasiani and the Hesperitæ; so it is possible that Hesperitæ=simply οἱ πρὸς ἐσπέραν. Kiepert takes another view; see iv. 7. 18, note.

ἀνέβαλλεν] = ἀνεβίβαζεν, 'helped him to mount.' The title ἀναβολεύς is found in Appian.

5. εἰς ἐπήκοον] 'Within hearing distance.' Their previous experience of interviews with Persian officers made them wary.

6. ἐφ' ᾧ αὐτὸς ἀδικεῖν] The construction is the same as that of ὥστε; the infinitive is restrictive or explanatory.

7. διὰ τοῦ πεδίου] Following the valley of the Kara Su. The position of the 'Residence' can hardly be determined further than that it was in the plain of Mush on the north of the Kara Su. This plain on the second plateau of the Armenian highlands, and 4000 feet above the sea-level, is very fertile, and in Armenia's better days was thickly populated. Since the Kurds were settled there, the usual consequences of Mohammedan rule have shown themselves, and villages which once held one hundred families can now muster barely half that number.

πολλῶν] The predicate: 'full of provisions in great quantities.'

8. διασκηνῆσαι, κ.τ.λ.] To distribute for shelter; to billet the several battalions with their leaders in the different districts. They thought that no enemy would stir in such weather, and so they would be running no risk in thus dividing their force.

9. ἱερεῖα] 'Flesh meat' (*lit.* victims). Only a small portion of the victim was consumed, another portion being set aside for the priest, and the rest becoming meat for the man that offered it, or oftener, as is plain from 1 Cor. x. 25, being sold in the public market.

οἶνους] The vine is still cultivated in the plain of Mush, but the wine produced from it is sour and worthless. Considering the height at which it is situated, this is perhaps only to be expected; and Professor Koch suggests that the wine here mentioned was of a better class, brought up by Tiribazus from the Euphrates and Tigris valley. Mr. Brant notices that the climate is not so severe as that of Erzeroum, that grapes are grown in vineyards on the side of the hills, and a great abundance of melons produced.

ἀσταφίδες] 'Raisins.'

10. διασκηνοῦν] Active: 'to distribute them.'

ἀλλὰ συναγαγεῖν] sc. δεῖν, the positive being understood from the negative οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι.

συναιθριάζειν] They thought that at the same time the sky was clearing (v. l. διαιθριάζειν, *disserenascere*, as we speak of a *break* in the sky).

11. ἐπιπίπτει] Note the preposition: 'there was a *fresh* fall of snow.'

ἄπλετος] From the same root as πλέ-ως, πίμ-πλη-μι, immoderate, immeasurable: a poetical word.

συνεπόδισεν] 'Shackled their feet,' held them fast.

κατακειμένων, κ.τ.λ.] 'For as they lay, the snow, resting where it had fallen upon them, was a warm covering; I mean for such as it had not melted away from.'

12. ἐτόλμησε] 'Plucked up courage.'

γυμνός] Without his armour.

ξύλα] At present the only trees to be seen are a few planted around the villages (BRANT). The Turks have cut down the wood, without replanting.

ἐκείνου ἀφελόμενος] 'Took the work from him;' others, 'took the axe from him.'

13. σύειον] PLIN. *N. H.* xxviii. 10, 'Adipis laus est, sed maxime suilli. Sincera axungia medetur ambustis vel nive . . . prodest et confricatis membris itinerumque lassitudines et fatigationes levat.'

σησάμινον] *Ibid.* xviii. 10. 'Sesama ab Indis venit; ex ea et oleum faciunt.' Cp. also CURT. vii. 4. 23, 'Succo sesama expresso haud secus quam oleo artus perungebant.'

πικρῶν] sc. ἀμυγδάλων.

14. εἰς στέγας] 'To be under shelter.'

ὑπὸ τῆς αἰθρίας] This reading is taken from Suidas. The MSS. have ὑπὸ ἀτασθαλίας, which would go with ἐνέπρησαν. Translate 'they had to pay for it by bad quarters under the open air,' i.e. their quarters were roofless, if not altogether destroyed.

15. Τεμενίτην] Uncertain; either a native of Τέμενος, afterwards Neapolis, a district of Syracuse, or a misreading for Τημενίτην, of Temenium, a coast town of Argolis.

τὰ ὄντα, κ.τ.λ.] 'Faithfully reporting facts as facts, and fancies as fancies.'

16. σάγαριν] A sort of halberd or double axe. Cf. HOR. *Od.* iv. 4. 20, 'Amazonia securi.'

17. ἐπὶ τίνι] For what purpose, for what reason.

18. εἴη ἔχων] Apparently to imply that Tiribazus was there in person. 'It was Tiribazus with,' etc.

**ἥπερ . . . ἐνταῦθα]** Great clearness is gained by this inversion of order, the relative sentence being placed first.

**πορεία]** It is impossible to fix the position of this pass. There is a mountain-road that passes along the Awelbahur to the Euphrates, which may be identical (KOCH).

For the Chalybes and Taochi see ch. 6. § 5 and note.

**19. ἐπὶ τοῖς μένουσι]** 'Over those who were left behind.'

**20. κατιδόντες τὸ στρατόπεδον]** 'When they caught sight of the camp.'

**21. οἱ ἀρτοκόποι]** The article goes with *φάσκοντες* in both cases: 'those who asserted that they were his pantlers and cup-bearers.' He was accompanied, as Eastern monarchs are in their campaigns, by a complete household of servants.

**22. ἔδοκα, κ.τ.λ.]** 'They thought it best to fall back upon the camp' (where Sophænetus was left) 'lest an attack should be made on it in their absence.'

## CHAPTER V.

**1. πρὶν ἤ]** The addition of *ἤ* is very unusual. It is found in *Cyropaed.* i. 4. 23; *Agesilaus* ii. 4.

**ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες πολλοὺς]** And so able to march more rapidly.

**ἄκρον]** It is plain from this that they struck into the hills north of the Kara Su.

**2. ἐρήμους]** The country in the neighbourhood of the Kara Su is described as forming but poor pasturage, owing to the constant occurrence of thick heaps of lava.

**πεντεκαίδεκα]** The difficulties of winter in a district some 4000 feet above the sea-level would make the hour's march very short, so that we need find no difficulty in the apparently short distance which would bring them to the eastern branch of the Euphrates, the modern Murad Su. They seem to have crossed it nearly opposite the mouth of the Tscharbatur, below which it trends to the south to the plain of Mush. Above this point it flows through a narrow valley, and is less fordable. The sources of the Murad Su are some fifty miles off, and for this reason some commentators have held that they cannot have crossed it so low down, alleging also that it is not fordable at this point. Professor Koch denies this from his own experience, and Colonel Strecker states that there are several fords in this part in late autumn. It is not unnatural that Xenophon and his men, who, we are told, were wet up to their middle, when they compared this with the river that they had known in Babylonia, should think they were near its source. Indeed, three days' journey is not much as compared with the whole length of the river.

3. πεντεκαίδεκα] Kühner and Krüger propose to read πέντε with one ms. ; but if the view we have taken of the parasang is correct, it is plain that no correction is needed for the shortness of the linear distance.

βορρᾶς would be the wind that blew down from the Bingöl Dagħ (the mountain of the thousand lakes) and their direction would therefore be north or north-east, more probably the latter, for Boreas does not appear to be used for the north-west wind. The track followed in the reverse direction by Consul Brant suits the description. This would take them along the Tscharbatur to Gümgüm, and then north-east over the spurs of the Bingöl Dagħ, crossing several narrow valleys to Chynys.

ἀποκαίων πάντα] 'Parching, drying up, everything:' used of frost-bite, vii. 3. 4, ῥῖνες ἀπεκαίοντο καὶ ὕδα. So in Latin *uro* is used of the common effects of excessive heat and cold. VIRGIL, *Georg.* i. 93, 'potentia solis Acrior aut Boreae penetrabile frigus adurat.'

4. σφαγιάσασθαι τῷ ἀνέμῳ] Boreas was worshipped at Athens: PLATO, *Phaedrus*, p. 229 c., καὶ ποὺ τίς ἐστι βωμὸς αὐτόθι Βορέου. Cp. HEROD. vii. 189.

ὀργυιὰ] (ὀρέγω) the distance an ordinary-sized man can stretch with his arms, from finger-tip to finger-tip = a fathom.

5. διεγίνοντο καίοντες] 'They kept on burning.'

οὐ προσέσαν, κ.τ.λ.] 'Would not let those that arrived late come near the fire, unless they gave them from their stock wheat or whatever eatables they had.' The accusative is used of that which constitutes the *share*, the genitive (see the next section) of the *whole* from which it is taken.

6. ἔστε ἐπὶ] *usque ad*; cp. v. 5. 4, ἀχρι εἰς, v. i. 1, μέχρις ἐπὶ, but these are hardly parallel, for ἔστε is not used as a preposition.

7. ἐβουλιμάσαν] 'Were ravenous with hunger.' The prefix βου- (cp. βούς) is used to denote something huge and overgrown: e.g. βούπαις, a big boy, βούσυκον, a large kind of fig, and (possibly) βοῶπις, with large, full eyes. Compare our *ox-lip*, *ox-eyed daisy*, *horse-laugh*, *horse-radish*.

8. διδόντας] 'Distributing it.' We should expect δώσοντας (to express purpose), but it seems as if the commission begins when first the instructions are issued. So vi. 1. 2, πέμπει πρέσβεις λέγοντας, and THUC. vi. 88. 11, πρέσβεις πέμπειν κωλύοντας.

τοὺς δυναμένους παρατρέχειν] 'Those who had strength to run along the line.'

9. κνέφας] A poetical word.

τῇ κρήνῃ] As in French—*la fontaine*, the spring or well that each village had. Cp. the scene in *Genesis* xxiv.

τοῦ ἐρύματος] They also seem to have had a rough kind of fortification round them.

10. κωμάρχην] An officer corresponding to the *maire* of a French, or the *mudir* of a Turkish village.

11. **ἰδυνήθησαν**] 'Were strong enough,' i.e. *διατελέσαι τὴν ὁδόν*.

12. **τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα**] Those which were disabled, which could not keep up with the rest.

**ἐλείποντο**] Fell off, let themselves be left behind.

**οἱ τε διεφθαρμένοι, κ.τ.λ.**] 'Those who were smitten with snow-blindness, and those whose toes were rotted off by the frost.' Cp. v. 8. 15, foll., where Xenophon refers to this time of difficulty.

13. **ἐπικούρημα τῆς χιόνος**] 'Protection against the snow,' whose hot glare in the sunshine makes the eyes inflamed and weak. Most Alpine travellers wear such a protection in the shape of dark spectacles, or at any-rate a coloured veil.

**κινούτο**] 'Kept moving,' to keep up the circulation. A Chamouni guide will tell you 'faites bouger bien les pieds dans les souliers, monsieur.'

**ὑπολύοιτο**] 'Took off his sandals.'

14. **οἱ ἱμάντες**] They were made of untanned hide, and so shrank and stiffened as they dried, and the shoes themselves froze to the feet.

**καρβάτιναι**] Brogues, like those from which the Highlanders get the name of Redshanks (SCOTT, *Marmion*, v. 5), and which Logan describes as 'An oval piece of raw cow or horse's hide drawn neatly round the foot by thongs of the same material, by means of holes in the margin.'

15. **ἐκλειοιπέναι**] 'Had disappeared.'

**ἀτμίζουσα**, 'steaming.' Prof. Koch thought that he had discovered this spring, and so gained one point of departure for a calculation of the route of the Greeks in Armenia. Near the village of Baskan in the valley of the Tscharbahur and not far from the foot of the Bingöl Dag is a mineral spring, which in October had a temperature of 28° Réaumur, while the temperature of the air was only 15°. Prof. Koch believed that it was the only such spring south of the Bingöl Dag, but Col. Strecker having discovered another to the west, the argument based upon it is of little value. In a volcanic region, which this appears to be, there may well have been others to the east. The description agrees fairly with the neighbourhood of Chynys.

**πορεύεσθαι**] Note the present; 'they said that they were not going on;' which is stronger than *πορεύσεσθαι*, 'they refused to go on.'

17. **ἀμφὶ ὧν εἶχον διαφερόμενοι**] 'Quarrelling over their booty.'

18. **οἱ δὲ κάμνοντες**] The invalids helped them as they could by adding to the noise, and so making the attack appear more serious.

**ἤκαν ἑαυτοὺς κατὰ τῆς χιόνος**] 'Plunged down the snow.' Modern travellers note the ease with which the people of the country will put spurs to their horses downhill with the snow some feet deep, when the only track is the half-frozen holes made by previous comers in the snow.

These four days after the passage of the Euphrates seem to have been the most trying which the Greeks experienced. The Hon. Mr. Curzon

gives us some idea of the suffering which the winter's cold in Armenia causes. He says, 'During great part of the year, and naturally in the winter, the cold was so severe that any one standing still for even a very short time was frozen to death. Dead frozen bodies were frequently brought into the city; and it is common in the summer, on the melting of the snow, to find numerous corpses of men and bodies of horses, who had perished in the preceding winter. So usual an event is this, that there is a custom, or law, in the mountains of Armenia, that every summer the villagers go out to the more dangerous passes, and bury the dead whom they are sure to find.'—CURZON'S *Armenia*, p. 162.

19. ἐπ' αὐτοὺς] To fetch, rescue them.

ἐγκεκαλυμμένοις] 'Wrapped up.'

ἀνίστασαν] 'Tried to rouse them,' fancying apparently that they were succumbing to that weary drowsiness which is often so fatal on the snow.

οὐχ ὑποχωροῦν] 'Blocked the way' (*lit.* were not getting out of their way).

20. παριὼν] 'Going along to the front.'

21. πέμψας, κ.τ.λ.] 'Sent his youngest men with orders to rouse them and compel them to come on.'

22. τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης] 'Some of those who had bivouacked in the village;' ἐκ, because they were sent from the village. For the genitive cp. i. 5. 7.

23. τὰς τάξεις σκηνοῦν] 'That the battalions should pitch their tents,' or billet themselves in the different villages. The τάξεις are probably the divisions according to their original leaders, see i. 1.; or they may be the regular divisions of two λόχοι or 200 men (vi. 5. 11).

οἱ ἄλλοι] The other officers.

The group of villages here alluded to would lie at the southern foot of the Bingöl Dagħ, in the neighbourhood of Chynys, on the ordinary road from Mush to Erzeroum. Here they stayed for seven days.

24. ἀφίεναι ἑαυτὸν] 'To let him start.'

τοὺς εὐζώνους] The active men in the company. The word first means 'with tunic well girt up' for active exertion, and is then used of the bracing up of the mind to active effort.

καταλαμβάνει ἑνδον] 'Finds them still in the village;' they had no time to flee.

πώλους] The horses of the Bingöl Dagħ and Chynys district are still held in high repute (KOCH). Though small, they are very spirited. Cp. Strabo, xi. 14, ὁ σατράπης τῆς Ἀρμενίας τῷ Πέρσῃ κατ' ἔτος δισμυρίους πώλους ἐπεμπε.

ἑπτακάδεκα] The number refers only to one village.

ἐν ταῖς κώμαις] Neither in his own, nor in any of the villages.

**25.** The following account of the modern houses in the highlands of Armenia corresponds exactly with what Xenophon relates. The custom is due to exigencies of climate, and therefore naturally has not changed:—

‘When a house is to be constructed, the following is the way in which it is set about. A space of ground is marked out, perhaps nearly an English acre in extent, then the whole space is excavated to the depth of about five feet; one part of the excavation is set apart for the great cow-stable; this may be fifty or one hundred feet long, and nearly as wide. Having got so far, some trees are the next requisite; these trees being cut down the trunks are chopped into lengths of eight or nine feet, the general height of the rooms, and are placed in two or four rows to be used as columns down the great stable; the larger branches, without being squared or shaped, are laid across from pillar to pillar as beams; the smaller branches are laid across these, the twigs on the top, till the entire trees are used up; the twigs are sometimes tied up in fagots, sometimes not: over this is spread some of the earth that was excavated from below; this is well trodden down, then more earth is added, and on the top of all is laid the turf which formed the surface of the soil before it was removed. Round the stable, in no particular order, smaller rooms are formed; if they are large, their roofs are supported by columns like the stable. In a large house there are often two stables. The space of ground taken up by a rich man’s house is prodigious, the turfed roof forming a small field. The lesser rooms in this subterranean habitation are divided from the stable and from each other by rough stone walls well filled up with clay or mud; their ceilings are contrived by laying beams across each other, two along and two across, in the form of a low pyramid, so that the ceiling is a kind of low square dome: the smaller rooms form store-rooms and apartments for the women. These subterranean habitations are constructed, not on the side of a hill, but on the side of a gentle slope; and all the earth excavated for the house is thrown back again upon the roof in such a manner that on three sides there is often no sign of any dwelling existing underneath. The entrance is on the lower side of the slope, and there the mound is often visible, as it is raised four or five feet above the level of the hill-side. There are no fences to keep people off the roof, which has no appearance different from the rest of the country. It is often only the dirt opposite the doors, the cattle, and people standing about, which gives information of a small village being present; particularly during the eight months of snow and ice and intense cold, when no one stirs abroad, except for matters of importance.’—CURZON’S *Armenia*, p. 45, foll.

τὸ μὲν στόμα ὡς περ φρέατος] The construction here is confusing. It seems simplest to understand ἔχουσαι, which would have come in the apodosis, had not the general word εὐρείαι suggested itself. The στόμα may be the entrance with the ladder alluded to in the next sentence, but the description of it agrees rather with what Mr. Curzon says of the



aperture which serves as chimney and sole ventilator. It widens from the mouth like an inverted funnel, partly to avoid its being stopped by the snow, and partly to draw the smoke up more readily.

τὰ δὲ κτήνη, κ.τ.λ.] To account for their maintenance in the cold season.

26. δσπρια] Beans.

οἶνος κριθίνος] A kind of beer, found also in ancient times in Thrace and in Germany (TACIT. *Germ.* 23). It is no longer found in Armenia, possibly owing to the Mussulman occupation.—(KOCH.)

ἰσοχαλεῖς] 'Level with the brim,' i.e. floating in the liquor. In order to avoid them, the beer was drunk from a large bowl through reeds or straws, as we drink sherry cobbler to avoid the ice floating in it. The straws were without knots or joints so that the fluid might pass freely.

27. ἀκρατος] 'Strong.' The Greeks were accustomed always to dilute their wine with a more than equal quantity of water so that ἀκρατος, unmixed, acquires this secondary meaning.<sup>1</sup> Taken literally the statement is merely a truism.

συμμαθόντι] The taste for beer, then as now, was an acquired taste.

28. στερήσουτο] Passive, 'he should be bereft.'

τὴν τε οἰκίαν, κ.τ.λ.] 'And they would fill his house with provisions as a recompence if it should appear that he had given them good guidance.' (ἐξηγησάμενος, apparently to match ἀντεμπλήσαντες; we should expect a continuous tense.)

29. οἶνον . . . ἐνθα ἦν] See iii. 2. 8, and note. This is the wine of the grape.

ἐν πᾶσιν ἀφθόνοις] 'In the midst of liberal supplies,' of all abundance.

ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχοντες . . . ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς] The one of strict custody, the other of keeping them in sight, keeping an eye upon them.

30. τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κώμαις] 'The Greeks quartered in the villages.'

32. ἐνθεν, κ.τ.λ.] 'From which he had to stoop down and drink, gulping it down' (or lapping it) 'like an ox.' That is, they had no cups, and had to drink out of the mixing bowl. This is plainly wine, not beer; the expression could not be used of drinking through a reed. βούν, by attraction to αὐτόν; properly ὥσπερ βούς ροφεῖ.

πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλάμβανεν] To share the protection, which had been promised to him.

33. σκηνοῦντας] 'At their mess carousing.' Cp. v. 3. 9. There is something comically touching about this reminiscence of home. The wearing of garlands was an essential part of a Greek symposium (see BECKER'S *Charicles*, sc. 6), but here there are no flowers to make them of :

<sup>1</sup> This is of course mainly a matter of climate. A Frenchman or an Italian would make a similar remark about wines which we in England drink neat or—if mixed—mixed only with stronger spirit.

so, rather than not keep up the home-fashion, they twine wisps of hay to make them garlands. This thoroughly Greek adornment is humorously heightened by the contrast of the Armenians with their βαρβαρικαῖς στολαῖς.

ὥσπερ ἐνεοῖς] By signs, as you would to a mute. Not knowing Armenian, they had no other means of communication. The Komarch spoke Persian.

35. ἐαυτοῦ] *i.e.* τοῦ κωμάρχου.

τοῦ Ἑλλίου] It was a Persian custom. Cp. XEN. *Cyrop.* viii. 3. 12. (of Cyrus' triumph), μετὰ δὲ τοὺς βοῦς ἵπποι ἤγοντο θῦμα τῷ Ἑλίῳ. HEROD. i. 216, θεῶν δὲ μόνον Ἥλιον σέβονται, τῷ θύουσι ἵππους. νόοι δὲ οὗτος τῆς θυσίης τῶν θεῶν τῷ ταχίστῳ πάντων τῶν θνητῶν τὸ τάχιστον δατέονται.

τῶν πώλων] See § 24.

36. σακία περιελθὲν] A common custom in the Caucasus to prevent sinking in the snow. Compare the snow-shoes worn in Canada.

## CHAPTER VI.

1. τοῦ ἄρτι ἡβάσκοντος] The repetition of the article implies that he had other sons besides this.

ἔχων καὶ τοῦτον ἀπλοῖ] He might go away with him, *i.e.* he might take him with him when he parted from them. The Komarch's slaves were left to wait upon him, but his son was kept as a sort of hostage for his father's good behaviour.

2. διὰ χιόνος] Xenophon says very little after this of the snow, but as, beginning in November, it generally lies at this great elevation nearly six months, it must be added to the difficulties of the Greeks through the rest of their march over this high table-land. All travellers who have been in Armenia in the winter speak, as Colonel Chesney does, of the depth of the snow as interfering with their progress.—(*Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, p. 120.)

οὐκ εἶεν] *sc.* κῶμαι, there were no villages.

3. τοῦτο δὴ, κ.τ.λ.] 'This was the only cause of disagreement between Cheirisophus and Xenophon during the whole march, his maltreatment and careless custody of the guide.' His ἀμέλεια was that, having thrashed him, he had not put him in confinement.

πιστοτάτῳ ἐχρήτο] 'Found him most faithful.' So *utor* in Latin; 'facili me utetur patre,' *TERENCE, Heaut.* ii. 1. 5.

4. Their three days' march would have brought them near the watershed that separates the Euphrates (*Murad*) and the Araxes (*Aras*) to the third and highest plateau of the Armenian highlands, whose average height

is little less than 6000 feet above the sea-level. They would be in the district of Chynys, and from there would follow the course of the present road to Erzeroum, crossing the depression between the Bingöl Dagħ and the Kazbel Dagħ.

ἀνὰ] 'At the rate of.'

4. Φᾶσιν ποταμόν] The *Aras* (or *Araxes*), of which the upper part is still called the *Pasin-su*, the district being also named *Pasin*. It seems fair to conclude that the *Phasiani* belonged to this same district, and not, as some have thought, to the *Colchian Phasis*.

The Greeks would probably cross it at Küllü, and march along it to a little distance beyond the confluence of the stream from Hassan Kaleh. It is needless to take them a longer march along it under the false impression that it was the *Colchian river*, and would bring them in time to the *Euxine*. The Greeks knew that when they had passed the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* at their sources they were to march westward or northward to the *Euxine*, and would hardly march for seven days due east. They might well in such a difficult march spend seven days in reaching the points mentioned.

5. τῇ εἰς τὸ πεδίον ὑπερβολῇ] Crossing over the *Kiretschli Dagħ*, a broad ridge of mountain (see § 11), to the head-waters of the *Olti Su* (the district of *Nariman*). Professor Koch takes them first a longer distance along the *Araxes* to *Mandshigerd*, but makes them return to this pass. Mr. Grote takes them to *Erzeroum*, and then again eastward, to pass this watershed.

Here they were met by a combined force of the *Chalybes* and *Taochi* and *Phasiani*; which shows that the report and fear of them was noised abroad. The *Chalybes* seem to have been a widely-extended tribe in this region. We read of them again in the fifth book as iron-workers near *Cerasus*. (From this fact comes the Greek name, *χάλυψ*, for steel, and our name for ferruginous springs.) The *Taochi* were a warlike tribe (see ch. 7) who dwelt in the mountain-valleys north-east of *Erzeroum*, the chief of which is watered by the *Olti Su*. The name *Taikh* is still given to the district. The *Phasiani* belonged to the district of *Pasin*, through which the Greeks had just come. They had probably fallen back on these allied tribes for help.

6. κατὰ κέρας] In column.

παράγειν τοὺς λόχους] To bring the companies forward into line. For an account of this manœuvre see note on iv. 3. 26.

καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις] He did it himself, and passed word to the other officers to do the same.

8. παραγγεῖλαι . . . βουλευέσθαι] Note the change of tense: 'we should pass the word . . . and proceed to debate.'

9. ἐμοὶ δέ γε δοκεῖ] 'Well, for my part, I think;' γε belongs to ἐμοί.

τὴν τήμερον ἡμέραν] So in DEMOSTHENES li. 23. ἡ τήμερον ἡμέρα, Compare the French aujourd'hui = ad diem de hodie.

10. εἰ μὲν ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ μάχεσθαι] 'If we cannot help fighting,' but we may possibly avoid fighting; and so the important thing is to consider whether we should not like an easier passage in order that we may have the least possible loss.

σώματα] Parallel with τραύματα.

11. ἐστὶ πλέον ἢ ἐπὶ] 'Extends for more than . . .' We should put the preposition before the comparative. Cp. vi. 2. 2, τὸ βάθος πλέον ἢ ἐπὶ δύο στάδια; Agesilaus ii. 1, ταύτην μείον ἢ ἐν μηνὶ κατήνυσεν, in less than a month.

ἀλλ' ἢ is used of exceptions after negatives. It appears to arise from a confusion of two constructions, οὐδαμοῦ ἀλλὰ (μόνον) κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν and οὐδαμοῦ ἀλλοθι ἢ κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν.

τοῦ ἐρήμου ὅρου stands first for emphasis, and as common to the two verbs κλέψαι and ἀρπάσαι.

κλέψαι λαθόντας] The ordinary construction (κλέψαντας λαθεῖν) is abandoned here in order to give prominence to the verbs in the infinitive.

μᾶλλον is not unfrequently added to intensify a comparative.

Xenophon's proposal is to strike the hill at another point, and to get on a level with their opponents, so as at any rate to save the disadvantage of having to climb the hill in the face of an enemy.

12. ἡ τραχεῖα, κ.τ.λ.] 'A rough road is easier for the feet when you go along it without having to fight than a level road when your head is exposed to a strong fire.' There is a sort of playful contrast in ποσὶν and κεφαλᾷ.

13. ἀπελθεῖν τοσοῦτον, κ.τ.λ.] 'To go to a sufficient distance to avoid their noticing us;' i.e. their hearing the men marching, or the noise of their arms. Cp. THUC. iii. 22, ὅπως τὰ ὅπλα μὴ κρουόμενα πρὸς ἀλλήλα αἰσθησιν παρέχοι (of the Plataeans escaping by night).

δοκοῦμεν δ' ἂν, κ.τ.λ.] 'It seems to me that if we make a feint of attacking the pass by the road we are now in, we shall find the mountain less protected, for the enemy will be more likely to remain in a body where they are.' ἂν is repeated in the first clause after the emphatic word ἐρημοτέρῳ, and is carried on to μένοιεν in the second. So *Cyrop.* v. 1. 21, αἰσχυνοίμην ἂν εἰπεῖν, νομίζοιμι γάρ, κ.τ.λ.

14. συμβάλλομαι] sc. λόγον, *Cyrop.* ii. 2. 21; ΠΛΑΤ. *Sympos.* 185 c., ταῦτά σοι περὶ Ἑρωτος συμβάλλομαι.

ὁμοίων] Peers. The population of Laconia was divided into three classes, Spartans, Perioeci, and Helots. The first class were the descendants of the Dorian settlers, who inherited the full rights of citizenship and of holding office, but on two conditions: (1.) that they should submit to

the training ordered by the code of Lycurgus; (2.) that they should pay their share of the public mess or Syssitia. As families increased, many became unable to do the latter, and so a further distinction was introduced, those who kept their full rights being known as "Ὅμοιοι, or Peers, the rest as Ὑπομειλῶνες, or Inferiors. See GROTE, Part ii. ch. 6.

**κλέπτειν μελετᾶν**] This practice is alluded to in Xenophon's treatise *De Reipub. Laced.* ii. 6. The rations served out to the lads of Sparta were somewhat scanty, and they were allowed to supply their deficiency by stealing anything of the nature of food (ὅσα μὴ κωλύει ὁ νόμος) under penalty of a severe thrashing if they were found out. The object thus somewhat strangely aimed at was to encourage fertility of resource.

**15. μέντοι**] 'To be sure, withal.' *MADV., Gr. Synl.* § 254. In the next section it is repeated: Ἀλλὰ μέντοι, 'well, for the matter of that;' καὶ τοὺς κρατίστους μέντοι, 'and the noblest, in fact.'

**16. κλέπτειν τὰ δημόσια**] Cp. vii. 6. 41. Embezzlement is simple theft.

**τοῦ κινδύνου**] Cp. Aeschines i. 113, οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι τῶν κλεπτῶν τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας θανατῷ ζημιοῦσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀρνούμενους κρίνεσθαι.

**ὑμῖν** goes with ἀρχεῖν—'to be your rulers.' The speech is sarcastic: the demagogues who held sway at Athens are not κράτιστοι in a Spartan's eyes.

**17. κλωπῶν**] Marauders.

**τούτων καὶ πυνθάνομαι**] 'From these I learn amongst other things.'

**νέμεται**] 'Is pastured.'

**βατὰ**] The ground will be accessible. Cp. iii. 4. 49, βάσιμα.

**18. ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ**] 'On a level with them on the heights.'

**20. Methydrium** is a town in the centre of Arcadia.

**ὁ Χίος**] The article particularises him. His merits were well known, cp. iv. 1. 28.

**πυρὰ καλεῖν πολλὰ**] For warmth, to guard against night attack, and to be a signal to their friends of their success.

**22. ἐγρηγόρεσαν**] 'Kept watch,' kept awake. They suspected a surprise.

**23. Join κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα ἐπήρεσαν.**

**24. τοὺς πολλοὺς**] 'The main bodies.'

**συμμιγνύασιν**] This form is somewhat rare, the commoner form being συμμιγνύουσι. Cp. vi. 3. 5. Plato prefers the older form.

**25. δρόμῳ**] 'At a run,' at the double. βάδην ταχὺ, 'at a quick march.'

**26. τὸ ἄνω**] Their detachment on the heights.

## CHAPTER VII.

1. Ταόχους] There can hardly be a doubt that the land of the Taochi is represented by the modern Taikh (for other districts of Armenia still retain the names given in Strabo), and it is plain from what follows that the five days' marching was *in* their land. For these five days no very great distance is required. It was midwinter (about the beginning of January), with deep snow on the ground in all likelihood;<sup>1</sup> they had to hunt about for provisions; and when they had found them they had to fight for them. The attack on the one fortress that Xenophon mentions, though it might be the most desperate, was probably not the only one of the kind. The πεδίων of the preceding section will be the plain between Nariman and Id.

εἶχον ἀνακεκομισμένοι] The emphasis is on εἶχον (cp. i. 3. 14, ἔχομεν ἀνηρπακότες) and so the preposition is ἐν, not εἰς. This practice of collecting the property of the district in a sort of earthwork made of wattles covered with clay is still found among some of the Georgian tribes. CHESNEY, i. 159.

2. χωρίον] It is impossible to identify this position. It was protected by a river on three sides, and the Greeks apparently had to cross the neck of land on the fourth side, if they did not rather pursue the people to their hiding-place, in search of provisions. Prof. Koch says that the tower of Olti suits well with the description, but making allowance for all difficulties we may doubt whether the Greeks would go so far east. Kiepert thinks that they may have followed the valleys to the junction of the Olti Su with the Tschoruk, but for this again the distances are too great.

εἰς χωρίον] Because χωρίον includes the surroundings of the place.

συνεληλυθότες ἦσαν] This form of the pluperfect brings out more plainly the fact that they were gathered *in* the place.

εὐθὺς ἦκων] 'As soon as he arrived.'

ἀθρόοις] 'In a body,' so as to form a continuous line. They could only come up, as the previous sentence shows, in detachments.

3. τὰ ἐπιτήδεια] 'The (necessary) provisions.'

4. Join τὸ κωλύον εἰσελθεῖν, 'the hindrance to their entry.'

'Ἀλλὰ is not in the best MSS., but seems wanted to introduce the answer—'Why, there is but this one passage.'

μία αὕτη πάροδος ἐστίν] αὕτη is here the subject, μία πάροδος the predicate; otherwise πάροδος would have the article (*Syntax*, § 6 a.)

<sup>1</sup> Col. Chesney found it very deep in this part of Armenia in December 1831 and January 1832.

ὅς δ' ἂν καταληφθῇ, κ.τ.λ.] 'Whoever is caught by them is reduced to this plight.' καταληφθῇ, literally, is 'overtaken,' 'cannot get out of the way soon enough.'

5. ἄλλο τι ἤ] *Nonne* —? Cp. ii. 5. 10.

ὀλίγους τούτους ἀνθρώπους] Here also the absence of the article shows that ὀλίγους ἀνθρώπους is the predicate : these, (who are but) a few men.

6. βαλλομένους] 'Under fire.'

ἀνθ' ὧν] 'Facing them,' and so, as they would be looking towards the fort, behind them.

φερομένων] 'Thrown.'

ἤδη] 'After that.'

παραδραμεῖν] 'To run across,' possibly with the idea of running a gauntlet.

7. αὐτὸ ἂν τὸ δέον εἴη] 'That will be the very thing we want ; for they will use up their stones the sooner.'

δυνώμεθα] sc. παραδραμεῖν.

8. ὀπισθοφυλάκων is an adjective. Cp. iv. i. 26, λοχαγούς καὶ πελτάστας καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν.

ἡγεμονία] 'The first place on the march.' The λοχαγοὶ took this place in turns, the order of march determining the place in line in case of battle.

9. ὑφίστασαν] 'Made their men halt.'

τὸν ἓνα λόχον] The one of which Callimachus was captain.

10. δύο καὶ τρία] 'Two or three.'

ἐφ' ἐκάστης προδρομῆς] 'Each time that he ran forward, more than ten waggon-loads of stones were spent.'

11. οὐδὲ παρακαλέσας] 'Without calling upon Aristonymus even. This requires some care : the second οὐδὲ = nor, but οὐδὲ . . . οὐδὲ cannot = neither . . . nor, any more than δὲ . . . δὲ could = both . . . and. Cp. iii. i. 27, οὐδὲ ὁρῶν γινώσκεις, οὐδὲ ἀκούων μέμνησαι. 'Even what you see with your eyes you cannot discern, and what you hear you do not remember.'

12. ἀρετῆς] i.e. the reputation for valour. Cp. VIRGIL, *Aen.* vi. 807, 'virtutem extendere factis.'

13. ῥιπτοῦσαι] The imperfect, of the women one after the other : the participle is not used in a temporal sense (*Syntax*, 58 b), but in the place of another verb = ἐρρίπτουν καὶ . . . The form ῥιπτέω seems to be preferred in the present, in the sense of throwing down from a height, the other tenses (as ῥίποντα below) being formed from ῥίπτω.

ἐπικατερρίπτουν] Note the prepositions—they threw themselves *down after* them.

15. Χαλύβων] From this point it is very difficult to trace the route of the Greeks. It seems most probable that from the valley of the Olti they tried to strike into the road which now leads from Erzeroum to Trebizond, but that, owing to the resistance of the Chalybes, they had to turn aside to the north-east along the valley of the Tschair Su, which would bring them into the valley of the Tschoruk.

These *Chalybes* seem later to have been called *Chaldaei*, and the district south of Kerasus (where they are mentioned in book v.) is still called by the Turks *Keldir*. (See Kiepert's Map.) The mountain-ranges of Pontus north of Taikh and west of Trebizond also bear in Armenian the name Chaghdkh, *gh* representing *l* in Armenian.

θώρακας λινούς] They were made of several folds of linen well soaked in vinegar and salt, and then pressed or beaten together, into a solid plate.

πτερύγων] Flaps to protect the hips. Instead of them they wore a sort of kilt of twisted cord such as are put on horses to keep off the flies.

16. ξυήλην] A short curved sword or knife. Compare the Indian's scalping-knife. ὅσον, 'as large as.' ξυήλην is attracted into the same case.

καὶ ἀποτέμνοντες, κ.τ.λ.] 'And they would cut off the heads of their foes and march off with them.' The present participle is equivalent to ἀπέτεμνον καὶ. . . .

ἐμellon] The imperfect in this construction is rare. We generally find the optative as in § 17 (*Syntax*, 40 b.)

μίαν λόγχην ἔχον] It had only the head, and not the spike at the bottom (στύραξ) which the Greek spear had, to fix in the ground.

17. μαχούμενοι] 'Ready to fight.'

ἐν τούτοις] They remained there. For this pregnant use Vollbrecht compares CAESAR, *Bell. Gall.* v. 10, 'naves in litore ejectas.'

λαμβάνειν . . . διетράφησαν] A good instance of the distinction pointed out in *Syntax*, § 49 a. The infinitive which denotes the natural and intended consequence of ἀνακεκομισμένοι ἦσαν implies the actual consequence, οὐδὲν ἔλαβον. The actual consequence was that they supported themselves on the Taochian booty; but that was not a natural or intended result of the action of the Chalybes, which would rather have been their starvation.

18. Ἀρπασον] The Tschoruk Su, the Apsarus of Pliny, a considerable river that flows to the south of the Balkhar Dag, the great mountain-range of Eastern Pontus, and empties itself into the Black Sea by Batoum near its south-eastern extremity. They would probably strike this river near Ispir or Pertatrek. There is no river, however, in this part of the country, which is 400 feet broad. If the number is correct, they must have come to it at some point where its bed is flat and marshy, so that it overflows its banks in the winter season.

Σκυθινῶν] Of these people nothing certain is known. They are supposed to be a remnant of a body of Scythians or Tartars, who invaded



Armenia and Media, and after twenty years' occupation were driven out by Cyrus. (HEROD. i. 105.) The main difficulty of identification is in the words *διὰ πεδίου*. Prof. Koch says, 'A single glance at a map will show that the country through which the Greeks were passing is covered with mountains. The only plain of any extent to be found is in the district of Ardahan.' He therefore takes the Greeks eastward to the valley of the Kur, and places Gymnias at Ardanutsch, supposing that they afterwards crossed the mountains in a W.N.W. direction to Trébizonde. But a consideration of the distance and of the severity of the winter in this neighbourhood makes the theory improbable. May not *διὰ πεδίου* mean simply that they had no mountain to cross, but went along the valley? Kiepert considers that the widening of the valley near Ispir may satisfy the conditions, and has an ingenious argument for identifying the Scythini with the inhabitants of this district. The names *Syspiritis* and *Hyspiratis* are found in Strabo applied to it, and correspond with the Armenian name *Sper*; and in the list of tribes enumerated in vii. 8. 25, we find the name of the *Hesperitae* associated with the Phasiani, the Scythini being absent. He suggests, therefore, that *Hesperitae* is either another name for the Scythini, or a name of one division of them. That they were under the same satrap with the Phasiani is not inconsistent with the existence of the independent tribes of Taochi and Chalybes in their midst: such a thing is common enough even now in mountainous districts in the East. At any rate we may conclude that if, as seems almost certain, the *Hesperitae* are the same with Strabo's *Hyspiratae*, the Greeks did pass by Ispir.

If this suggestion is correct, the villages would lie at the upper end of the Tschoruk valley. Colonel Chesney places them in the neighbourhood of Baiburt.

It is to be noted that we are not told whether the march to the Harpasus is included in the seven stages of § 15. It may have involved additional time.

**19. Γυμνίας]** Mr. Grote would identify this city with the modern Gümiş Khane, which, says Mr. Hamilton, 'is celebrated as the site of the most ancient and considerable silver-mines in the Ottoman dominions.' 'Here is not only great similarity of name and likelihood of situation, but the existence of the silver-mines furnishes a plausible explanation of that which would otherwise be very strange—the existence of this "great, flourishing, inhabited city" inland, in the midst of such barbarians.' It lies on the *winter* road from Trébizonde to Erzeroum, and its distance from the former place is about eighteen hours, or forty English miles. The argument from the name, however, is shown by Kiepert to be fallacious, the first part of it, Gümiş, being simply the Turkish for silver, and the second half, Khane, the Persian for house; and while the neighbourhood of ancient silver-mines such as those at Gümiş Khane and Baiburt would account for the existence of a large and prosperous town, such a town would be more

likely to be built in the plain than in a narrow valley like that of the Kharshut. It seems better, therefore, to place it with Kiepert a little north-west of Baiburt, where the Tschoruk bends to the east, and where in later times stood the Roman frontier fortress of Domana. Other identifications are Ispir on the Tschoruk (AINSWORTH); Artanudsch on a tributary of the Tschoruk (KOCH); and Gemeri on the Kara Su (CHESNEY).

20. ἐκεῖνος] sc. ὁ ἡγεμὼν.

πέντε ἡμερῶν] From its position probably a gloss from τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ (§ 21).

ἐνέβαλεν] 'Entered,' invaded. Krüger thinks it is to be taken transitively, 'made them enter,' but there is no instance of this use.

αἶθεν] A poetical word.

21. τὸ ὄρος] The hill that the guide had named.

ἱερὸν, which is not found in the best MSS., is probably an interpolation.

Θήκης] Diodorus calls it Χήνιον. It is generally identified with the Tekieh-Dagh, a ridge above Tekieh, a village a little to the east of Gümisch Khane. Professor Koch objects that this is not high enough, and no one appears to have practically tested whether the sea is visible from any part of it. The narrative implies that, while the Greeks may have been taken out of their direct road by the guide from Gymnias, yet, when he left them, he put them in their way to Trebizond; that he returned, and they went on. The *whole army*, with its baggage, etc., would not have gone up the hill to see the sea and come back again by the same way, as Colonel Strecker makes them do. I have followed here Mr. Grote and Mr. Ainsworth. It is possible with this identification to account, on the whole satisfactorily, for the rest of the route, but a more thorough survey of the Pontus mountains will probably alter entirely our notions of the track which the Greeks followed (see additional note at the end of this Book).

22. εἰποντο γὰρ] Explains ἀλλους; fresh foes were attacking them in front—fresh foes, I say, for they were always following in the rear.

δασεῶν βοῶν ὠμοβόεια] 'Of shaggy, untanned cowhide.'

23. οἱ αἰεὶ ἐπιόντες] 'Those who kept coming up.'

24. παρεγγυώντων] 'Passing it on, like a watchword, to their comrades behind.' Cf. VIRG. *Aen.* iii. 523:—

'Italiam primus conclamat Achates  
Italiam socii læto clamore salutant.'

It is plain from v. I. 14 what 'the sea!' meant for them. It was not home, it is true, but it was an end to their painful marches, and to their sufferings from cold and privation and fatigue. Their perils were over, as they thought, and they might now comfort themselves with the hope of an early return to friends and home, and to a more endurable life.

25. *δου δὴ*] A kind of attraction for *παρεγγυήσαντός τινος, ὅστις δὴ ἦν*. Cp. v. 2. 24, *δου δὴ ἐνάψαντος*.

27. *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ*] 'By general subscription.'

*Μάκρωνας*] The inhabitants of the Korash-Dagh district north of Gümiş Khane. They are said by Strabo to be the same with the Sanni or Tsanni, whose name still remains in the district of Tripolis, west of Trebizond. Professor Koch sees another trace of the name in the Makur-Dagh, a summit of the Pontic range lying on the way between the Khatschkhar-Dagh and Trebizond.

## CHAPTER VIII.

1. *τὸν ποταμὸν*] If the Tekieh-Dagh represents *Θήχης*, they would descend it in a north-west direction into the valley of the Kharshut river, which falls into the Euxine at Tarabülüs (Tripolis). They would have this river on the left, and the high crags of the Korash Dagħ on the right, the boundary river being an affluent of the Kharshut which falls into it from the east.

2. *ὑπὲρ δεξιῶν*] So two MSS. for *ὑπερδέξιον*, which means simply 'lofty.'

*οἶον χαλεπώτατον*] *οἶον*, like *ὥς* and *ὅσον*, is elliptical, *ἡδύνατο* or some such word being understood (*Syntax* 57).

*δι' οὗ*] The antecedent is *ὁ ὀρίζων (ποταμός)*, as is plain from the fact that the Makrones were there to dispute their passage. Kühner strangely refers it to *ἄλλος ποταμός*. *οὗτος* is also the boundary river.

*ἐκοπτον*] To form a bridge, or rafts; or possibly, if the timber was small, merely to clear the way.

3. *λίθους ἔρριπτον*] The natural interpretation is that they threw stones at the Greeks which did not reach them and caused no harm, so that Xenophon humorously says they took to throwing stones into the river. Kühner and Krüger say they threw them into the river so as to step on them and get within shot.

4. *γινώσκει*] 'He recognised the language.'

*ἐμὴν ταύτην πατρίδα εἶναι*] 'That this is my country.' *ἐμὴν πατρίδα* is the predicate, so there is no article.

5. *διαλέγον*] 'Enter into conversation.'

*ἑρωτήσαντος*] sc. *αὐτοῦ*.

*ἀντετετάχεται*] This Ionic form of the 3 plural of the perfect passive is used four times by Thucydides. It may have been used in military language as the readier form.

6. καὶ ὑμεῖς] Condensed: 'You too wish to be our enemies, seeing that you are coming to invade our land.'

οὐ κακῶς γε ποιήσοντας] γε asserts with a qualification: 'We are coming, it is true, but not with any harmful intent.'

7. δοῖεν ἂν] sc. εἰ αἰτήσεται. The ἂν belongs to the apodosis of a compressed conditional (*Syntax* 54 b).

ταῦτα πιστὰ εἶναι] 'These were their pledges.' The exchange of spears was their way of ratifying a compact.

8. Κόλχων] They held at this time the coast of the Euxine eastward from Trebizond to the Phasis.

9. ὄρος μέγα] Apparently the pass of Zigana across the Kolat-Dagh, the Colchians being posted at the summit of the pass. This pass is also known by the name of a village on the northern side as Karakaban, and is described in HAMILTON'S *Researches*, vol. i. p. 164 foll., and in CURZON'S *Armenia* (p. 173). The latter speaks of scrambling about on rocky ledges, and crossing torrents and snow-drifts, as his main experience.

His book, with its interesting descriptions of the difficulties of Armenian travel, is a good antidote to the older theories as to the wanderings of the Greeks into the far east. He mentions, for instance, his having met a rich Persian merchant on the 2d of January at Chadrak on the road to Baiburt, who had been eighteen days on the way from Trebizond, which was but thirty-two hours of Tartar posting. And he sums up the whole in the following words: 'The description of Armenia and the adjacent districts in the foregoing pages will have sufficed to give a general idea of the many difficulties to be encountered by those whose business leads them through this inhospitable region, where they meet with impediments at every step, from the lofty mountains traversed by roads accessible only to mules and horses, the extreme cold of the high passes and elevated plains, the impossibility of obtaining provisions, and the savage character of the Koords and other wandering tribes who roam over this wild country. If a traveller, accompanied by a few followers and assisted by firmans from the Sultan, finds this journey arduous in the extreme, how much more so must it prove to the general in command of an army, with many thousand men to provide for, with heavy baggage to encumber his march, on roads inaccessible to carriages or wheeled vehicles of any kind! and if to these is added an enemy on the alert to cut off supplies, to harass the long straggling line of march, and to attack the passing army in narrow defiles from behind rocks, and from the summits of precipices, where they are safe from molestation, it will be understood that the difficulties presenting themselves to military operations in these regions are almost insuperable. . . . It was the impassable character of this country, and the treacherous habits of the robber tribes of Koordistan, which made the retreat of Xenophon and the Ten Thousand through the same regions the wonderful event which it has always been considered.'

10. ὁρθίους ποιῆσαι] 'To form them in column.' The inequalities of the ground would make a uniform pace impossible, and so the line would be broken; and the confidence which a compact order gives would be destroyed.

Order: *δταν τεταγμένοι εἰς φάλαγγα ὁρώσι ταύτην* (sc. *τὴν φάλαγγα*) *διεσπασμένην*.

11. ἐπὶ πολλοὺς] 'Many deep' (generally ἐπὶ πολλῶν). A deep phalanx would be outflanked; a shallow one would easily be broken by any concentration of the enemy's force. On the other hand by detached columns it would be possible to cover, and more than cover, the whole of the enemy's line, and each column could pick its own path.

12. διαλιπόντες τοὺς λόχοις] 'Placing the companies at intervals,' *lit.* leaving intervals with the companies.

ὅσον has the construction of ὥστε, but is preferred to it as indicating more closely the length of the line. Cp. iv. 1. 5, *τῆς νυκτὸς ὅσον σκοταλούς διελθεῖν τὸ πεδίον*.

πρώτοι] The lochagus was at the head, and the picked men were in the first rank of the company in marching order.

λόχος] Probably this should be λοχαγός. ἀγεω is not used of soldiers marching.

13. The only danger to a company in this order would be a flank attack, and they will not be foolish enough to risk that and place themselves between two fires.

οὐδεὶς μηκέτι] The construction and meaning of οὐ μὴ is extended to their compounds. 'There is no fear after that of one of the enemy standing his ground.'

14. ἐπὶ τὸ εὐάνυμον] Where he, as leader of the rear, would be stationed.

ἐνθα] *i.e.* at the sea.

ὁμοὺς καταφαγεῖν] An exaggerated expression for 'to destroy utterly.' Cf. HOM. II. iv. 35, ὥμδν βεβρώτοισ Πρίαμον Πριάμοιό τε παῖδας. Faesi compares xxiv. 212, where Hecuba says of Achilles τοῦ ἐγὼ μέσον ἦπαρ ἔχοιμι ἐσθέμεναι προσφῦσα.

'I could eat him up' is the natural expression of a bloodthirsty vengeance.

15. ἐν ταῖς χώραις] 'In position.'

σχεδὸν εἰς τοὺς ἑκατον] Apparently the normal number of the λόχος was 100 men, but there were gaps caused by losses on the way. σχεδὸν 'close on,' from the root of ἔχεσθαι, 'to hang on to,' 'be near.'

τριχῇ] In three bodies of close on 600 each.

16. εὐχεσθαι] 'Vota facere.' They vowed offerings to the gods; cf. § 25. Cheirisophus was on the right wing, Xenophon on the left.

**17. διασπάρθησαν]** Some of the best MSS. have *διασπάρθησαν*, but this seems the better reading, for the point is that their line was broken, as is explained by the rest of the sentence. So in the next sentence Schneider's correction *διαχάζοντας* for *διχάζοντας* is unmistakably right.

**18. οἱ κατὰ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν πελτασταί]** The peltasts that were stationed with the Arcadian troops, evidently (§§ 15, 16), in the centre. In 3. 22, Æschines is with Cheirisophus, but there are on that occasion apparently only two divisions.

**ὄν]** Agrees with *ὀπλιτικὸν* in sense.

**19. ἤρξαντο]** sc. *οἱ πελτασταί*.

**κώμαις]** These villages would appear to have been at the summit of the pass.

**20. τὰ μὲν ἄλλα]** May be an accusative of reference, or possibly an anacoluthon, *οὐδὲν* being inserted for emphasis' sake, instead of continuing *οὐκ ἦν θαυμαστά*.

**καὶ τῶν κηρίων, κ.τ.λ.]** 'And all the soldiers that ate of the honey-comb lost their senses and were seized with sickness and diarrhoea, and not one of them could stand erect.' Pliny (N.H. xxi. 13), alludes to the same fact: 'Aliud genus in eodem Ponti situ, gente Sannorum, mellis, quod ab insania, quam gignit, mænomenon vocant. Id existimatur contrahi flore rhododendri, quo scatent silvæ.' And Mr. Hamilton says (*Researches in Asia Minor, etc.*, vol. i. p. 160): 'The honey of Trebizond still retains the intoxicating qualities which Xenophon and Strabo attributed to it in its effects on the Greeks in their retreat, and upon the soldiers of Pompey.' (The Heptacometæ destroyed three squadrons of his troops by placing cups of this honey in their way, and falling upon them, when intoxicated with it.) 'I even found that all the honey here had a very bitter flavour, although it is chiefly the wild honey which possesses such deleterious qualities. It is said to be produced by the bees feeding on the flower of the Azalea Pontica, which grows in great luxuriance on the hills above the town.' Prof. Koch discusses Xenophon's statement at some length, having himself sought in vain for this poisonous honey, and maintains that it must have become noxious from bad keeping or being kept too long; that a natural instinct will keep bees away from poisonous plants. Col. Strecker however shows that Koch's experience is not conclusive. He says: 'Honey of this kind, thin and watery, dark coloured and peculiarly bitter, is sold to this day in the markets of all the ports of the Black Sea between Ordu and Batoum. Taken in its natural state, it produces the symptoms which Xenophon describes. Yet because of its cheapness, it is much used by the poorer class, but only after it has been boiled and mixed with other substances containing sugar, and that only in small proportions.' He also attributes the poison to the bees feeding on the flower of the yellow azalea, which he saw in some places fenced off that the sheep might not get at it, and was told that it made them ill.

ἀποθνήσκουσι] 'To men in their last agonies.'

21. ὥσπερ τροπῆς γεγενημένης] 'As many as after a lost battle.'

22. Τραπεζοῦντα] Tarabuzun, or Trebizond. 'Beyond the low hills on which the town is built, and a little to the s.e. rises a steep and almost insulated hill, forming a perfectly level table-land, from which the town must have taken its name' (τράπεζα, a table).—HAMILTON.

Σινωπέων] Sinope was a colony of Miletus. The name is familiar to Englishmen from the defeat of the Turkish fleet by overwhelming numbers of Russians, and the wholesale massacre that followed, at the commencement of the Crimean war (Nov. 30, 1853.)

24. συνδιεπράττοντο] Mediated, or backed up their negotiations. The Colchians in the plain were more or less dependent on the people of Trapezus, and were therefore protected by them.

25. σώτηρι] sc. σωτήρια, thank-offerings for their safety.

ἡγεμόσυνα] One of Heracles' titles is the Guide, ἡγεμῶν, (cf. vi. 2. 15, τῷ ἡγεμόνι Ἡρακλεῖ) he being himself the prince of wanderers.

ξυήλη] cf. iv. 7. 16. note.

δρόμου] 'The course.'

26. τὰ δέρματα] The skins of the victims, as prizes for the winners; or (Krüger) the skins as the well-known and regular prizes. Cf. HEROD. ii. 91. 2: ποιεῦσι δὲ τάδε Ἑλληνικὰ τῷ Περσεῖ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν τιθείσι διὰ πάσης ἀγωνίης ἔχοντα, παρέχοντες ἀεθλα κτήνεα καὶ χλαῖνας καὶ δέρματα.

ἐν σκληρῷ καὶ δασεὶ οὖτως] 'On ground so hard and stubbly.'

27. οἱ πλείστοι] Naturally there were but few, if any, παῖδες in the Greek force.

δόλιχον] The stadium was a single length of the course, 600 Greek feet, about 202 English yards; but the δολιχόδρομοι went round the goal and then back and round the pillar which marked the starting-point, till they completed the number of stadia (or laps) that they had to run, which was variable. The ordinary number was 12 or 24 (= 12 δίαυλοι, or double courses.)

παγκράτιον] A combination of boxing and wrestling. The combatants fought naked, with their bodies anointed with oil and then covered with sand, to give a grip. They did not use the cæstus or heavy boxing-glove, or at least only the plain straps to protect the arm; so there was little chance of serious wounds. It is spoken of as the most beautiful of athletic contests (see an interesting article by Dr. Schmitz in the Dictionary of Antiquities.)

κατέβησαν] Like *descendo* in Latin, the technical word for entering the arena.

25. The βωμὸς was the starting-place, and the sea-line apparently the goal, so that in the δίαυλος the horses had to turn actually in the water.

κάτω] On the way down.

## ADDITIONAL NOTE

### ON THE ROUTE OF THE GREEKS AFTER LEAVING THE PLATEAU OF ARMENIA.

The difficulty in tracing the course of the Greeks in the retreat is due to the absence of mention of any *definite* places. We know that they crossed the Euphrates, and that they came to the Harpasus, but we do not know at what points they struck those rivers. We know that they passed through certain tribes, but we have not the evidence necessary to fix with exactness the locality of those tribes. Could we be certain of the measurement of distances we should have some help, but we have seen that where it is possible to compare Xenophon's statistics with actual distances, his unit of measurement is a variable one. We are obliged, therefore, to feel our way, and can only claim for any route we lay down a greater or less degree of probability.

In laying down the route through Armenia I have carefully examined the views of travellers and previous commentators, and have in the main followed the lines of Koch and Kiepert, but with a general inclination to shorten the distances they allow, believing that Xenophon's silence is no proof that the Greeks had not to go through the usual hardships of Armenian travel, and to bear the usual inclemency of an Armenian winter. There may have been times when there was no snow in the lower valleys or on the slopes facing south; indeed, the expedition against the enemies of the people of Gymnias and the attack on the fort of the Taochi seem to imply this; but the snow which tried them so severely in the valley of the Murad Su can hardly have disappeared when they were on the next plateau, nearly 2000 feet higher.

In the last five days' journey I have followed Mr. Ainsworth's *Commentary*, which agrees in part with Colonel Chesney, but I cannot look upon the route so fixed as final. In a reply to a paper by Colonel Strecker, an officer in the Turkish service,<sup>1</sup> who holds that the Greeks turned westward after crossing the Euphrates and rounded the Bingöl Dagħ at its western end, Herr Kiepert has given good reasons for supposing that the territory of the Makrones lay north of the chain of mountains that forms the left boundary of the valley of the Tschoruk, and that Mount Theches must have been betwixt it and the sea. With the mists that prevail in winter the sea would hardly be visible from a great distance or from a great height, and yet the guide is prepared to stake his life on showing them the sea from this mountain (iv. 7. 20). Again, that the Makrones dwelt to the north of this chain is implied by the statement of

<sup>1</sup> Now (*June* 1877), as Reschid Pasha, Governor and Commandant at Varna.



an old geographer (ARRIAN, *Periplus*) that the Machelones dwelt east of the Sanni (Xenophon's Colchi) close by Trebizond, extending down to the coast (*Μάκρωνες* would be a natural attempt to make the name more Greek, cf. *Hesperitæ* above), and the name Makur-Dagh, borne by one of the hills at the head of the Surmeneh valley, may have some connection with the old name. According to this theory, the last two days' march would be parallel to the coast, and the *ὄρος μέγα* of the Colchians would be near Surmeneh; and Herr Kiepert believes that if the upper valley of the Surmeneh river were explored the boundary river of 8. 1 might be found, and Mount Theches identified. There is an elevation marked in his map, with two streams, which appear to correspond with the description, but all the information about this valley appears from his own account to be at second-hand. See *Beiträge zur Geographischen Erklärung des Rückzuges der Zehntausend*. Berlin, 1870, p. 21. With this view Mr. Layard practically agrees (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 65).

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